

The Religious Awakening of Austria. ❁ ❁

BY

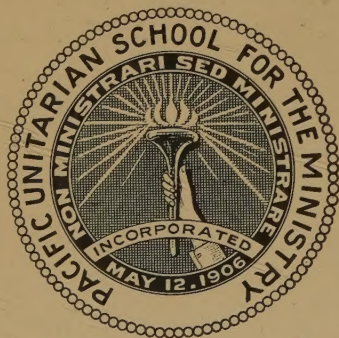
JOHN GULLAND.



... Being ...

A Report on an Enquiry into
the *Los Von Rom* Movement
in Austria, at the request of
Dr. R. H. Gunning's Trustees.

BR
816
G84
1904
GTU
Storage



BERKELEY, CALIFORNIA

THE
Religious Awakening of Austria

BEING

A REPORT ON AN ENQUIRY INTO THE
LOS VON ROM MOVEMENT IN AUSTRIA



BY

JOHN GULLAND

SOLICITOR, EDINBURGH

Property of
CBSK
Please return to
Graduate Theological
Union Library

PUBLISHED FOR

HIS EXCELLENCY DR. R. H. GUNNING'S TRUSTEES, AND
THE SCOTTISH REFORMATION SOCIETY

BY

LORIMER & CHALMERS, 31 ST. ANDREW SQUARE, EDINBURGH

1904

BR
816
G84
1904

EDINBURGH:

PRINTED BY LORIMER AND CHALMERS,

31 ST. ANDREW SQUARE.

BRITISH MUSEUM

X222

of the British Museum

Geological Department

Library

E 519.35
G 951

CONTENTS.

	PAGE
FOREWORD,	5
I. THE AWAKENING OF THE SOUL OF AUSTRIA,	9
II. FACTS AND FIGURES OF THE <i>LOS VON ROM</i> MOVEMENT,	12
III. MOTIVES OF THE MOVEMENT,	21
IV. POLITICAL BASIS OF THE MOVEMENT,	25
V. CLERICALISM IN AUSTRIA,	30
VI. PAN-GERMANISM ; THE GERMAN NATIONAL INFLUENCES IN THE MOVEMENT,	40
VII. THE OPEN BREACH WITH ROME,	46
VIII. OTHER INFLUENCES AND OTHER MOVEMENTS,	55
IX. BOHEMIA,	65
X. A PROPOSAL FOR A ROMAN CATHOLIC UNIVERSITY IN AUSTRIA, AND WHAT CAME OF IT,	80
XI. CONCLUSIONS,	86

FOREWORD.

THE following pages are the fruits of personal investigation into some aspects of the great *Los von Rom* movement in the lands of Austria, which I undertook last summer at the request of the Trustees of His Excellency Dr. R. H. Gunning, in co-operation with the Scottish Reformation Society. In previous years Rev. J. G. Cunningham, D.D., Rev. J. M. Robertson, D.D., and Rev. J. P. Lilley, D.D., had been commissioned to inquire particularly into the direct religious gains of the movement, and the reports of the visits of these deputies to the Reformed and Lutheran Churches of Austria, and their conferences with ministers and congregations and some of the converts, have already been published. But this remarkable movement against the Church of Rome, which has been convulsing Austrian Society for the past few years, has many ramifications. It has become inextricably bound up with the national, political and racial strifes in which that congeries of nations—the Austria-Hungarian Monarchy—is perpetually embroiled; and confusing and conflicting reports have appeared in the British Press as to the real extent to which the *Los von Rom* movement is dominated by political motives.

The invitation, then, with which I was honoured by Dr. Gunning's Trustees was to make a full inquiry into

the political and other aspects of the movement which were not completely overtaken by the previous deputies.

I visited Austria in August and September of last year, and sought out every variety of opinion respecting the movement. I was fortunate in meeting the Rev. Professor Clemen, formerly of Halle University, now of Boan, at his summer residence in Grimma, near Leipzig. His generous sympathies with the Czech race as well as with his own kinsfolk, the Germans, made him a very reliable guide to the whole movement, and he explained to me the many agencies and organisations which are working in Germany and other countries to give a helping hand to the *Los von Rom* movement in Austria. In Bohemia I met many of the representative religious, political and social leaders who are guiding the Czech mind in the direction of the movement. Among these may be mentioned that veteran of the old guard of Czech Protestantism, Pastor Vincent Dusék of Kolin, and several other ministers and laymen of the Reformed Church of Bohemia; Professor Masaryk, Professor of Philosophy in Prague University, probably the most distinguished representative of modern Czech culture and progress; Dr. Herben and Mr. Yung, the Editors of *Čas*, the organ of the Realist party in Bohemian Politics who are working strenuously to elevate and purify the national life of Bohemia. This is the only daily newspaper which has boldly espoused the cause of the Czech Protestants. I visited many of the towns and villages in the east and south of Bohemia, and was brought face to face with the intensity of the task which Protestantism has in front of it in this Rome-ridden land.

In Austria I was fortunate in obtaining interviews

with representatives of the German Roman Catholics as well as Protestants. I thought it would be interesting and instructive, and at the same time only fair and just, to ascertain the opinions of enlightened Roman Catholics on the upheaval within their Church. I was very kindly received by the Rev. Mr. Hechlar, the chaplain to the British Embassy in Vienna, a member of the Anglican Church, and a very staunch Protestant, and he gave me some very valuable introductions. Dr. Witz Oberlinn, a leading member of the Oberkirchenrath, whom I met in Vienna and also in Lintz where he presided over the sittings of the Gustavus Adolphus Society, and Professor Dr. Georg Loesche, who has recently published a history of Protestantism in Austria, favoured me with their views. I had interviews with some of the leaders of the *Alldeutsche* party in the Austrian Parliament, to which party the *Los von Rom* movement may be said to owe its birth, and with which the movement, whether for good or ill, has been closely associated. Dr. Bareuter and Dr. Berger, both members of the Austrian Parliament and leaders of this party, gave full and frank expression to their aims and motives. I had also conversations with some of the best informed correspondents in Vienna of the great London journals—men who are always well acquainted with much of the inner influences which are brought to bear on all continental movements.

The annual meetings of the Austrian Branch of the Gustavus Adolphus Society, which were held at Lintz on 1st September, 1903, gave me an opportunity of meeting with representative ministers and laymen, both of the Reformed and the Lutheran Churches from all parts of Austria. The exchange of views was very

valuable in enabling me to discuss certain aspects of the movement which had been put before me in other quarters in a not too favourable or pleasant light.

The impressions which I have gathered of the movement from these and other sources, including the accumulating literature on the subject, I have put together in the form I thought best suited to give a clear and connected narrative of the origin and progress of the movement. It is not easy, within short compass, to unravel to British readers the tangled skein of the political, social, and religious life of such a country as Austria, and this task is rendered none the lighter when it is known that the Roman Catholic Hierarchy utilises its vast machinery to confuse the issues vital to the national well-being, and seeks to subordinate the interests of the people to the furtherance of its own ambitions.

But it is a profoundly interesting study to the British people at the present time, when they are being charmed with the pretty illusion that Rome has at last shed her black past for ever, and that Romanism, the system so many countries have been familiar with to their bitter cost, has now put on a fair and gracious vesture.

Those who have persuaded themselves of the reality of the sweet reasonableness of the Rome of to-day may find something to ponder over in the picture of Austria under Rome ; and good friends at home, who are not unreasonably fluttered with recent evidences of an apparently renewed vitality in Roman Catholicism here, may take courage from the fact that among growing, enlightened communities this system of faith and morals is rapidly expiring, and may soon become the exclusive possession of the cloister and the cell.

I.

THE AWAKENING OF THE SOUL OF AUSTRIA.

THE universal interest, which has been aroused in the religious awakening of Austria is at once a tribute to the permanent sway which vital religion still exercises over the human heart and mind, and a genuine curiosity as to the future of a country which as yet has contributed little to the sum of human progress. Some thirty years ago the distinguished French statesman, Guizot, gave this advice to a father: "Let your son study Theology. This century will close in religious controversy." At that time few would have been prepared to believe how literally these words would come to pass. The whole developments of the century pointed in other ways. Discovery and invention, and the pursuit of wealth and pleasure, seemed to supply the human mind and heart with all its needs. It was the universal belief that the days of religious movements had passed away and that Natural Science would reign unchallenged in the dominion of the human mind. It was a vain imagining. To-day, Austria, amidst all its contentions, national, political and racial, is striving first and foremost how to put itself right with God. Indeed, alike to the Emperor in Vienna and to the humble peasant in the Tyrol, there is only one question of supreme importance—the religious question.

Austria is rousing herself from her long sleep, and all the world is anxiously wondering what is to be the conclusion of the whole matter. For it is not merely an Austrian question we are considering—although it is serious enough for Austria; it is a European question, a universal question.

Carlyle has recorded that to him the only interesting period in Scottish history was the Reformation. While it may be too soon yet to say that Austria is on the eve of one of those sweeping movements which have delivered great nations from the powers of darkness and led them into the light, the important fact to note is that Austrian history has again become interesting. Austria has begun to think; and under the influence of this new experience the soul of the country has come to life again.

It was in the nature of things that the first stirrings of the new life should take the form of a controversy with Rome. For three centuries Rome has had complete power to work her own will on the destinies of Austria, and to carve out her own policy for that country. Austria, it must be remembered, is not only one of the most Roman Catholic of countries but is the country of the Anti-Reformation. In no other country did Rome stamp out the Reformation with greater ferocity and nowhere was the triumph of the Jesuits more complete than in Austria. Austria, therefore, since the Reformation, has been the official leader of Roman Catholicism, and Rome's last great bulwark among the powers of Europe. It may thus be seen that a revolt against the authority of Rome in such a country is of great significance. It forces one inevitably to the conclusion that Rome is incapable of adapting herself

to the needs and aspirations of a progressive people—in short, that, weighed in the balances of enlightened civilisation, she has been found wanting.

Dr. Eisenkolb, a member of the Austrian Parliament, lately declared in that Roman Catholic Assembly that “all our unhappiness comes from Rome,” and using these words as a text, delivered a passionate attack against Rome and all her ways ; and a Roman Catholic Czech writer, Machao, complains no less bitterly—“we have learned of Rome as no other people in the world have. Rome is the last and greatest cause of all our past unhappiness, and all our present miseries.” This thought, that Austria’s fidelity to Rome is a prime source of weakness and unhappiness, has completely captured the imagination of multitudes of the people, whether in the Parliament or in the Universities, in the Church or the National Associations, in the North or in the South, among the Germans or among the Czechs, and bids fair within a short time to cleave the Empire into two great forces—those for and those against Rome—which will sweep aside all national, racial or political divisions.

II.

FACTS AND FIGURES OF THE *LOS VON ROM* MOVEMENT.

THERE has been a well-grounded suspicion for some time past in our country that, included in the programme of the Society of Jesus, is a deep-set and calculated attempt to capture the British Press with the great wide-spreading and far-reaching influence which justly pertains to it. This policy, of course, is not prosecuted openly and boldly ; that would not be in consistency with the traditions of this powerful organisation. It suits the purpose in view equally well that the Church of Rome has a certain representation among the editors, sub-editors, reporters and others on the staffs of our leading newspapers. It is then possible that nothing to the hurt and prejudice of the interests of Rome shall be made unduly public. For example, this *Los von Rom* movement is familiar to every subject of Austria and Germany, and for the past few years the Press of these countries, whether Protestant or Roman Catholic, have been full of it. Yet little or no notice of it has appeared in the British Press, outside of *The Times*, which has frequently contained very full and adequate contributions on the subject from its Austrian correspondent. Some of the other London papers have

at times had meagre notices. Whether the hand of the Jesuit is responsible for this deplorable state of matters, I cannot pretend to know ; but I give the following little incident which came across my notice in Vienna, and allow others to form their own conclusions. The Austrian correspondent of a leading London Daily informed me that he had, from time to time, sent to his paper reports of the progress of the *Los von Rom* movement. These reports, however, were seldom published, and when they did appear it was evident that the original versions had been subjected to much mutilation. The correspondent was very annoyed, and asked his editor for an explanation. The editor replied that he knew nothing whatever about the reports sent by his correspondent ; and on investigation being made, it was discovered that a sub-editor had got hold of all the telegrams relating to the *Los von Rom* movement and had suppressed them. The only excuse the sub-editor offered for his conduct was, that he was a member of the Society of Jesus !

I was at pains to ascertain the exact figures of the movement, and for this purpose I obtained access to the official Government returns. It is well known that in Austria every citizen must declare to what religious persuasion he adheres, or state that he is *confessionlos* —i.e., of no religious beliefs ; and returns must be made every year by all recognised ministers of religion of all changes in religious profession within their congregations.

To comprehend fully the effect of the figures of conversions which I have gathered, the following statistics regarding the peoples of Austria should be kept in view. Austria proper has a population of

about 25,000,000, divided among the various nationalities as follows :—

Germans,	9,000,000
Slavonic Races :—	
Bohemians or	
Czechs,	6,000,000
Poles,	3,800,000
Ruthenians,	3,150,000
Slovenians,	1,150,000
Servian-Croates,	580,000
	<hr/>
	14,680,000
Italians,	630,000
Roumanians,	650,000
	<hr/>
	24,960,000

The religious beliefs of these people are :—

Roman Catholics,	20,000,000	or 79·5°/.
Greek Catholics,	2,830,000	„ 11·5 „
Jews,	1,170,000	„ 4·8 „
Greek Orthodox Church,	560,000	„ 2·4 „
Protestants,	400,000	„ 1·8 „

These figures give but a faint idea of the appalling struggle for dear life, which the Protestant faith in Austria has had to wage through the long years since the Reformation.

It is satisfactory that a beginning at any rate has been made towards reducing the heavy leeway.

PROGRESS OF *LOS VON ROM* MOVEMENT.

I. *Conversions to the Lutheran Church.*

Name of Superintendency.	1899.	1900.	1901.	1902.	Half-year ending June, 1903.	TOTALS.
Vienna, . . .	2282	1846	2126	1762	924	8,940
Upper Austria, .	301	154	179	110	83	827
Bohemia, . . .	2689	1879	3105	{ West, 1676 East, 99	{ W., 774* E., 34	} 10,256
Asch,† . . . (N.-W. Corner of Bohemia.)	160	90	72	44	13	
Moravia-Silesia, .	388	443	532	356	160	1,879
Lemberg, . . . (Galicia-Bukovina.)	60	86	93	99	69	407
Mixed Congrega- tions,‡ . . .	...	...	21	28	29	78
Totals, .	5880	4498	6128	4174	2086	22,766

* The Bohemian Superintendency since 1902 has been divided into an East Bohemian Superintendency and a West Bohemian Superintendency. The East is Czech ; the West, German.

† The Asch district did not belong to Austria at the time of the Counter-Reformation. The majority are therefore Protestant, and there is little of the *Los von Rom* Movement here.

‡ In some places there are members of the Lutheran and Reformed Churches who are not strong enough to form separate congregations, they therefore unite to form a mixed congregation. The minister is of the Confession to which the majority belongs ; and the whole congregation is responsible to the section of the Oberkirchenrath to which the majority of the congregation belong.

II. *Conversions to the Reformed Church.*

Name of Superintendency.	1899.	1900.	1901.	1902.	Half-year ending June, 1903.	TOTALS.
Vienna, . . .	178	175	178	180	87	798
Bohemia, . . .	282	299	269	253	139	1242
Moravia-Silesia, .	43	66	52	38	11	210
Galicia, . . .	2	2	1	...	1	6
Mixed Congrega- tions, . . .	...	...	11	9	...	20
Totals, .	505	542	511	480	238	2276

III. *Conversions to the Old Catholic Church.*

The total number of those who have left the Church of Rome and joined the Old Catholic Church is 9393. The Old Catholic Church is an independent Roman Catholic body, which was formed as a protest against some of the most recent assumptions of Rome, particularly in regard to the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception and Papal Infallibility. This body now occupies a somewhat lonely position in Austria; and they issue from time to time pathetic appeals to their former brethren to eschew a worldly creed and maintain a spiritual religion. They say their object is to bring the Catholic Church back to what it was when Christ was its Teacher. They are drifting every day further from Rome; and at the present moment the Church of Rome treats them with the same uncompromising hostility which she bestows on the Protestant Churches.

IV. *Confessionlos.*

A large number have separated themselves from the Roman Catholic Church, who have not, for a variety of reasons, attached themselves to any Church. I was not able to get the exact figures in this case, but the numbers were estimated to me at about 4000.

*Total Secessions from the Church of Rome from
1899 to 30th June, 1903.*

Conversions to the Lutheran Church, .	22,766
Conversions to the Reformed Church, .	2,276
Conversions to the Old Catholic Church, .	9,393
Confessionlos,	4,000
	<hr/>
	38,435

Within this period 58 Protestant places of worship have been erected in Roman Catholic districts affected by the movement. In 134 towns and villages regular Protestant services have been conducted for the first time since the Anti-Reformation, nearly 300 years back ; and 108 preaching stations, where intermittent services are held, have been formed. Some 90 young preachers, the majority being from Germany, have devoted themselves to the work, of whom about 80 remain in Austria. About a dozen preachers have been banished from Austria for excess of zeal in their new spheres. In the German parts of Bohemia, before the movement began, there were only 18 Protestant congregations with 23 churches, 28 preachers, and 48 places of worship. Now there are 49 congregations, 52 churches

and chapels, 68 preachers, and 125 places with regular services. In Styria there were, in 1899, 6 congregations, 12 churches, 8 preachers, and 17 places of worship. Now there are 11 congregations, 19 churches and chapels, 23 preachers, and 59 places of worship. Since the spring of 1903 the foundation stones of 6 new churches have been laid, 5 of them being in Bohemia. Seven congregations have procured ground for their buildings, and at least 40 other congregations are preparing plans for church buildings.

In numerous places all over Bohemia, Moravia and the Tyrol, meetings on behalf of the movement have been held. The Austrian authorities use their utmost endeavours to hinder and hamper these meetings. I was told that on one occasion, in the Iser Mountains, the authorities took the following measures to control the meeting; two gendarmes with fixed bayonets were placed at the entrance, another stood in the dining-room, a fourth in the kitchen, and in the hall itself sat the Government Commissary!

The new evangelical life in Austria has also manifested itself in the formation of many societies for the purpose of assisting the movement in various directions. The marvellous faculty for association, which is inherent in the German people, was utilised to the fullest advantage. The oldest and best known of these associations is the great Protestant Society of Germany—the Gustavus Adolphus Society. A great many branches of this society have been formed in Austria, containing in all about 100,000 members. Other societies which have sprung up are Church Building Associations, Young Men's Christian Associations, and a Protestant Ministers' Society in Vienna, which has for

its object the improvement of the conditions of life of the Austrian Protestant Clergy. A "German Evangelical Union" for Austria has also been formed with the view of forming a bond between the different branches of the Evangelical Church in Austria. Among the Czech Protestants there has been established quite recently a "Union of Constance," with the object of spreading abroad among the Czech peoples a knowledge of Protestant truth and faith; and, most important of all, a great International Committee has been formed to stimulate the Protestant movement among the Czechs.

Among other evidences of the genuine vitality of the movement may be mentioned the Literature, dealing with every aspect of the subject, which is rapidly accumulating into vast dimensions—tracts, pamphlets, and books being poured forth from the Press without ceasing; and several daily, weekly, and monthly journals have been established for the purpose of carrying on the Protestant propaganda. What is perhaps of even greater significance than this purely controversial literature, is the extent to which the root principles and ideas of the movement are permeating the permanent Literature of Austria. In its Literature the soul of a nation speaks. The poets, essayists, and other writers have become inspired with the new-found freedom and purity which is breathing through the life of their country, and they are diffusing among the people a gospel of "sweetness and light," which to many has long been an unfamiliar joy. I might mention in particular Rosegger, the renowned Austrian-German poet and author, whose book, "*Mein Himmelreich*" (My Kingdom of Heaven), has passed through twenty editions in Austria. In this book the poet, who is still formally

connected with the Church of Rome, gives his own religious experiences, appeals fervently for freedom of conscience, and expresses his deepest sympathy with the *Los von Rom* movement. He showed his practical sympathy with the Protestants by assisting them to build a church in his native village.

What is of infinitely greater consequence even than all this perfecting of machinery, is the simple fact that the teaching of Christ has never been heard in greater purity from Evangelical pulpits than to-day, and this constitutes the brightest hope for the future.

III.

MOTIVES OF THE MOVEMENT.

THE evidences which I have furnished give a sufficient indication of the dimensions the movement has now assumed. It is necessary, however, always to bear in mind that the real significance of the movement does not consist in the actual number of converts, although these are serious enough to thoroughly alarm the Roman Catholic authorities. The mere fact that such a movement should have made its appearance at all in Catholic Austria is the matter of profoundest import.

The numbers of those who have renounced their faith in the Church of Rome are undoubted; but the explanations of the motives which have induced so many to come to that decision have been challenged. It is hardly necessary, of course, to point out that statistics of motives of conversion cannot be regarded with the same confidence as figures relating to exports and imports. Dr. Cunningham, Dr. Robertson, and Dr. Lilley, have already recorded their own personal experiences of the intensity of the religious faith of many of the converts whom they met, and my own inquiries convinced me that these cases were but typical of thousands more. There are other answers, it is true, and there is no intention of shirking them here. As matter of fact I was particularly anxious to ascertain every explanation by

which the Roman Catholic Church seeks to account for this serious convulsion within her borders, and I have endeavoured with absolute fairness to weigh the worth of these explanations.

Perhaps the foremost of the sinister motives, which have been ascribed to the adherents of the *Los von Rom* movement, is that the movement was conceived in political intrigue and is nurtured and maintained for no other than the attainment of certain political and national ambitions. This argument has received the most extensive publication, and those concerned in it take anxious care that it shall not suffer unduly in the telling. For this reason it merits our first consideration.

To form any tolerably accurate idea of the many moods and changing phases of this movement, it is necessary to take full count and reckoning of the state of public affairs in Austria-Hungary, which are well-nigh as perplexing and distracting as anything could be; and in many ways it may be said that the religious upheaval has served to make confusion worse confounded. In a country thus seething with political discontent and social strife, it is easy to conceive how readily circumstances lent themselves to Roman Catholic apologists to utilise political motives to discredit the religious considerations of the movement. They flattered themselves that they could dismiss the matter by pointing to the phenomenon as merely forming part of that continual interaction of religion and politics characteristic of all Eastern Europe. This attitude is but in keeping with the same fatuous policy, which the Roman Catholic Church has ever thought it her duty to pursue towards all movements springing up within

the Church and having for their ultimate object the strengthening of the spiritual foundations of the Church. It is not denied that political ideals have bulked very considerably in the progress of the present movement, but to say that they account for the movement is mere factious reasoning and party recrimination. The opposing points of view will best be gathered from the declarations of the rival parties.

The Catholic bishops of Austria met in Vienna in 1902 in solemn conclave, and after due deliberation condemned the movement without reserve on political grounds, and declared that all those who joined it entertained hopes and aspirations which were inconsistent with Austrian patriotism: and the Cardinal Archbishop of Vienna, in a pastoral letter to the people, stated that the "movement owes its existence and strength to the political circumstances of the country between which, and the Catholic Church and the Pope, it is impossible to establish the slightest connection." Prince Liechtenstein spoke of "the agitation in favour of conversion to Protestantism as a manœuvre of political rivalry," and the heir to the Austrian throne has repeatedly stated that *Los von Rom* meant *Los von Austria*.

The fairest expression of the Protestant standpoint, which I have seen, is contained in the following resolution passed by the Vienna Evangelical Alliance: "That this Alliance expresses its satisfaction at the motion adopted by the Protestant Synod in Vienna concerning the proselyte movement, on which occasion *all conversions resulting from conviction* were welcomed and all friends and promoters of the movement were thanked. The hope was expressed that the pastors of

the Evangelical Church, while loyal to their country and the dynasty, would fearlessly fulfil the duties of their office to the welfare of Church and State." The motion adopted by the Synod and endorsed by the Evangelical Alliance also emphatically repudiated the aspersions on the patriotism and loyalty of the Protestants towards the Emperor, whom they look up to with gratitude for having granted the Protestant Charter.

The reference in the preceding resolution to "conversions resulting from conviction" is clearly intended to establish a distinction between such cases of proselytism and the conversions which accompany the political propaganda of the Pan-German party. It will be observed that no such distinction is made in the Catholic Bishops' Conference, or in the Pastoral Letter. But the truth is, there are now two movements "*Los von Rom*"—one which is in the main political, and another which is quite independent of the political agitation, and which it will outlive, as politics are entirely foreign to it.

IV.

THE POLITICAL BASIS OF THE *LOS VON ROM* MOVEMENT.

IN order to appreciate the political aspects of the Austrian revolt against Rome in all its bearings, it is essential to begin at the beginning, a not unimportant detail not always quite borne in mind by defenders of the Roman Church. For some time after the movement was well begun, and even yet, the orthodox answer was considered sufficiently well summed up by describing the movement as "*Ein Kampf um das Deutschtum*" (a struggle for German power), which it was asserted, was the real title of the movement. Beginning at this point, the work of demolition was comparatively easy, the occasional extravagancies and crudities of the aims and methods of the Austrian Pan-Germans affording ready sport to the Philistines. But the initial question has yet to be answered. Why should these political ebullitions in Austria have come to a head in a determined assault upon the Roman Catholic Church? In France, in Belgium, in Italy a like phenomenon has been witnessed; and the thought is at once suggested that there may be some universal cause which is responsible for such universal results. It will not require very prolonged investigation to ascertain that the root of all the trouble is to be found in that unfailing source of Rome's weakness—her lust

after political dominion, and the conflict of this ambition with the aspirations of an enlightened, progressive people. When will Rome learn the lessons of history? When will she return, we do not ask to the sphere of simple religion, but to the realms of common sense?

A popular Jesuit preacher in Vienna, in the course of a sermon complaining of the vacillating manner in which the government dealt with the *Los von Rom* movement, pointed out that "Rome was to be regarded from a double standpoint. There was the Rome of Leo XIII. which was not political but religious and Catholic. The other Rome was political, but it was forbidden by the authorities to speak against it in the same terms as against religious Rome, although religion was a more sacred and elevating cause than politics." It might be remarked that these two Romes are not, as the preacher sought to explain, independent of each other but inter-dependent. Although her best friends within and without the fold have advised her that she would add immensely to her spiritual power if she would forsake her political mission, Rome has made up her mind that she will not abate one jot or one tittle of her political pretensions; and in the last resort she will not abandon them without a desperate struggle. If the signs of the times may be discerned aright, one might venture to say that a crisis in this struggle is at hand. At any rate in Austria a people are becoming conscious of the rights of free citizenship and are coming to recognise that Clerical domination is the eternal enemy of their freedom and their manhood.

The steady encroachments of Clericalism in State affairs during the past dozen years in Austria was bound sooner or later to end in a conflict with the Vatican. It was

notorious that Rome was redoubling its efforts with a view to the subjection to clerical influence of the whole administrative powers in the Austrian half of the Monarchy. This feverish activity is undoubtedly to be ascribed to a dim fear, which has been slowly settling on the mind of Rome of late years, that perhaps Catholic Austria was slipping from her grasp. The head and front of Austria's offending was her alliance with Italy. The Holy See has never forgiven Austria this grievous sin. Then the triumph of the Liberal cause in Hungary, the action of the Austrian Government in regard to civil marriages, and the public reprimand by the Emperor to the Archbishop of Serajevo for meddling with political matters which did not concern him, to mention but a few matters, have all caused profound irritation in Rome. These and other incidents of greater or less significance, gave fair warning to Rome that rocks were ahead. But with that fatal folly which has consistently attended the policy of the Vatican, and has brought her repeatedly to grief and confusion in the past, she heeded not the warnings or the threatenings. A policy of reason and conciliation might have soothed, if it had not saved, the situation. But Rome in the fulness of her inerrant wisdom considered the mailed fist more appropriate to the occasion than the velvet glove.

From time to time petulant lamentations issued from the Vatican in regard to the condition of Austria. An Austrian Catholic Journal published an account of an audience which the Archduchess of Tuscany and her three daughters had with the Pope. His Holiness is represented to have said, in speaking of the situation in Austria, that it was a very melancholy one, adding with considerable animation that the timidity and cowardice

displayed by persons in high and influential positions had much to do with the regrettable condition of the Empire. That there is no gratitude in Politics is a painful truth which statesmen and politicians have learned to accept with becoming humility, but these words of the Pope might cause one to doubt whether Roman politics ever knew what gratitude was. This Pontifical pronouncement was indignantly resented in Austria. The *Neue Freie Presse* of Vienna put the matter fairly but trenchantly. "The hostility of the Vatican towards Austria is a monumental example of political ingratitude. Everywhere in Austria is to be found tender regard for the Vatican and the Church, whereas Rome shows towards Austria only the grossest lack of consideration. Never has Clericalism been so influential in the legislation and administration of this Empire. The most powerful party is the one that takes its *mot d'ordre* from the Papal nunciature. It guides the feudal nobility, it is the thorn in the flesh of the German population, it has provoked a twenty years' reaction in Austria, and, unhindered and protected, it scatters in Hungary that seed which has thriven so well in this half of the monarchy, that nothing is done in Austria without first considering what will be said about it in Rome. King Humbert's visit to Vienna was never returned merely out of regard for the Pope's feelings. Austria has always given the Holy See a thousand times more than she has received from it. The true causes of the melancholy situation of which the Pope complains are to be found in the history of Austria. Without the surrender to Rome the course of events in Europe, and more particularly in Germany, would have taken a different turn; but if the facts of history are unchangeable, there is one thing that can be changed.

The views expressed in the imperial letter concerning the distinction to be drawn between political and religious duties must no longer be set at naught."

On which side the greater guilt of ingratitude lay, it is fruitless to discuss. This at least is plain, that Austria, who had played the faithful lackey to Rome, was now to be whipped for her pains. It was, after all, not an unkind dispensation which was to bring her through such tribulation.

V.

CLERICALISM IN AUSTRIA.

CLERICALISM in Austria is very much the same unlovely thing it is the wide world over. It needs no definition. Its spirit is quite well revealed in the statement of Pope Leo XIII. at the Vatican Council, "It is necessary to get hold of the Legislatures in order to subdue the peoples." On the day on which the doctrine of the Papal Infallibility was proclaimed, Cardinal Manning asserted exultingly that "the human governments have now nothing to do but to bow in submission." To achieve this object has been the ambition of Roman Catholicism in all ages and in all lands.

In Austria it counted for little with Rome that she had wielded unchallenged dominion for three centuries, and that to all intents and purposes Austria was her willing bond slave. It might have been thought that a policy of "letting well alone" would have been the most profitable in the circumstances. But the passion for power grows apace by what it feeds upon, and the mission of Rome is still directed towards the realisation of the ideal contained in the Papal Bull of 1302, which declares that "It is absolutely necessary to salvation for every human creature to be subject to the Roman Pontiff."

What then have been the prime aims and objects of clerical policy in Austria during later years? Its

essential features may be described as a determined and systematic effort to secure piecemeal, by legislation or other means, a reversal of such principles of religious toleration and equity as have found their way into the Austrian constitution. In the attaining of this object the Church has made assertion of rights and claimed powers which have alienated the sympathy of the enlightened members of her communion, and provoked the present revolt against her authority. A few instances will sufficiently indicate the trend of Clerical policy :—

(1.) The control of education has always been a cardinal point in Romanist policy. "Education," said a Pope's syllabus, "outside the control of the Roman Catholic Church is a damnable heresy." But it is not unfair to suggest that the heresy is not the matter of gravest concern to the Church. It is a universal experience that a monopoly of education is the surest safeguard of a monopoly of political power. Austria has established in her midst for many years a fairly good system of undenominational education, which has been the subject of repeated attack from the ecclesiastical authorities. The battle here is not over, but these attacks have contributed to confirm the resolve of many rather to sever their connection with the Romanist creed than to submit to a restoration of priestly predominance. I was informed by ministers and others in Austria that a great many of the converts from Rome were parents who were not themselves perhaps very deeply concerned about the truths or errors of the Romanist creed but were particularly anxious that the education of their children should be put beyond the reach of priestly interference. They

observed how much better equipped for the battle of life were Protestant children, and they sought the Protestant schools for their own children, convinced that the intelligence of their children would get a fairer chance of full and unfettered development.

I will refer later in greater detail to a fruitless attempt which was made by the Roman Hierarchy to establish a purely Roman Catholic University in Austria.

(2.) In most of the municipalities of Austria, especially Vienna, the clericals have reigned supreme for many years. They have taken advantage of their position to make large grants of municipal funds for denominational purposes, such as the construction and maintenance of Roman Catholic Churches. The legality of this action was at last called in question, and the highest judicial tribunal in the country decided that such grants were entirely illegal.

(3.) At a meeting of the Patriotic Catholic Association of Lower Austria a lecture was delivered by a Father Eisterer on Austria's interests in the Holy Land. He appealed to the government to assist Catholic pilgrimages to Palestine, Egypt and Syria. "The promotion of the Catholic faith," he said, "must be one of the main tasks of the monarchy. In these countries the ground was exceptionally favourable for the good seed. Throughout the East the words "Austrian" and "Catholic" are synonymous. Therefore the representation of Austrian interests should only be entrusted to Catholics." On the motion of a Professor of Theology a resolution was adopted calling upon the government to appoint only German-speaking Catholic consuls in Egypt and Palestine. This is a pretty fair sample of

the readiness of the Roman Catholic Clergy to dabble in politics and promote political ends whenever they believe that the State or a particular party is prepared to give an adequate equivalent for such service.

Perhaps the most instructive indication of the growth of popular feeling against Clericalism may be seen in the formation of two anti-Clerical associations, representing very different interests, and of widely differing complexion and capacity.

The first is an association of the citizens of Vienna, including several professors of the university. The circular appeal issued prior to the founding of the association indicates its objects. It says that "everywhere, in France, Germany, Spain, &c., there are popular movements and political events testifying to the fact that the masses regard Clericalism as their most dangerous enemy. Even in Austria, which has for centuries been the stronghold of Clericalism, it is exciting in many directions the indignation of the people. Must Vienna remain a solitary exception? In this city where rabid Clerical demagogism flourishes, is every trace of political thought and free spirit to be extinguished? Is every attempt at emancipation to be regarded as folly?" The founders of the association think not. They look forward with confidence to the triumph of the liberal views of the century, and invite the co-operation of all liberal and independent citizens in the Metropolis. At the opening meeting bitter war was declared against Clericalism. "The fight against Clericalism," said one speaker, "must be fought to the bitter end. Petty squabbles must be set on one side and the power of Clericalism must be broken."

Of much deeper significance is the revolt of the

German Roman Catholic peasantry against ecclesiastical leadership. This has resulted in the formation of the *Bauernbund*, or Peasants' League, which extends over a considerable portion of Styria and the adjoining provinces, and is rapidly pushing itself all over the country. While strongly anti-clerical both on national and economic grounds, its members are quite as good Catholics as their opponents, and merely seek to restrict the activity of the clergy to their spiritual functions. They contend that the interference of the priesthood in political affairs is almost invariably detrimental to the interests of the agricultural population, as the clergy in pursuit of their own ends are to some extent dependent on the support of the large landed proprietors. Their intervention is likewise opposed to the interests of the German nationality, as the clergy systematically side with the backward Slav population, which is far more docile to their influence than the comparatively enlightened German element. This is the substance of the manifesto of the League at its inception two years ago. There was no intention then of leaving the Catholic faith. Their opposition was directed solely against the political priest. But it prepared the way for a favourable hearing to the Protestant movement among the peasants of the Tyrol. When it is remembered that in Styria, where this League was started, the Roman Catholics formed 99 per cent., and the Protestants less than 1 per cent., of the population, one can readily understand the genuine alarm with which the Roman Catholic Church viewed the unfurling of the standard of revolt in that quarter. The majority of those who broke away from Rome in these districts did not at first go the whole way of Protestantism, but attached them-

selves to the Old Catholic Communion. This was as much as could reasonably have been looked for in these most conservative parts of the Empire. The local authorities and the ultra-clerical aristocracy put every obstacle in the way of the movement.

The particulars of a meeting held at Gratz, the capital of Styria, might be worthy of notice. A number of ladies belonging to the Catholic aristocracy succeeded in preventing the meeting from being held in one of the largest hotels in the town by inducing the proprietor to cancel his agreement on the ground that the proposed gathering was of an anti-religious character. On being thus prevented from holding a large public meeting open to all who might choose to attend, the promoters resorted to the second form of assembly permitted by law—namely, that in which each person present must receive an invitation bearing his own name, and be known personally by those who summon the meeting. Notwithstanding this drawback, a large gathering assembled to hear the spokesmen of the Old Catholic community preach the new crusade. One of these speakers, who was received with great enthusiasm, declared that the cry of emancipation from Rome was never more justified than at the present time, when the ecclesiastical authorities had no sympathy with the people, and when the latter were betrayed by their political leaders—meaning the chiefs of the clerical party. A pastor of the community, who addressed the meeting, said the spirit of the German nationality was now thoroughly aroused, and he argued that the Old Catholic movement defended the most sacred treasures of that race—their mother tongue and their religious sentiments. While he was speaking, a police official

dissolved the meeting. A strong force of police had eventually to be called in to clear the hall, and the audience raised the cry of *Los von Rom* as they passed through the streets.

This movement among the peasants, chiefly inspired it must be admitted by political aims, has a curious historical parallel in the rising of the peasants of Germany on the eve of the Reformation. The peasantry at that time flocked to the standard raised by Luther chiefly because they believed they saw in him the leader who would save them from their cruel bondage, who would free them from tithes, and the growing oppressions of the serf laws, and the exactions of their ecclesiastical superiors. What proportions the present movement among the peasants will yet assume, and in what directions it may proceed, remains to be seen. I was informed by one very competent authority, that in Austria it would be impossible for the industrial population to bring about a revolution, but in his opinion it was in the power of the peasantry to do so if once they were thoroughly roused. For the moment the most that can be said of the movement is that it is away from Rome.

The tendency which has thus manifested itself among masses of the Austrian Empire to change their creed on political grounds, constitutes undoubtedly a very powerful factor in the *Los von Rom* movement; but that this is not the work of traitorous Protestants, but the first fruits of the Roman Catholic hierarchy, is equally undoubted. Here is the opinion of so well-informed and impartial an observer as the Vienna correspondent of the *Times*, who has had abundant opportunities of noting the workings of many modern European movements. Speaking of the political motive of the movement, he says:

“It can hardly be regarded as other than an immediate consequence of the influence exercised, and still more of that sought to be exercised, by the Roman Catholic clergy on the course of political affairs. The manner in which sectarian interests seek, for their own purposes, to take advantage of the nationality conflicts in Austria is no less detrimental to true religion than it is to the intelligent and successful conduct of the business of State. Things have gone so far in this direction that, in the eyes of a large section of the population, the priest has almost exchanged the character of a minister of the Gospel for that of an ordinary politician, who is only distinguished from his secular colleagues by the advantage which he takes of his privileged position. This unfortunate result may be considered as directly due to the activity of the political priest.”

In face of these facts it is sheer trifling for Roman Catholic apologists to accuse the leaders of the *Los von Rom* movement of fomenting religious strife for political purposes. The ludicrousness of this defence is very well illustrated in the actions of two of the most zealous lay defenders of the Faith, Prince Alois Liechtenstein and the Burgomaster of Vienna, Dr. Lueger. They have both written and spoken vehemently against the movement. They reproach the *Los von Rom* leaders with disturbing unity among the Germans by the firebrand of a religious feud, and declare that those who knew what terrible havoc religious feuds caused among the people, and nevertheless raised the cry “Away from Rome,” deserved the contempt of every German and every Austrian. Will it be believed that these two gentlemen were the leaders of the Anti-Semitic movement in Vienna,

which reduced the capital of Austria for a while to chaos and distraction? In the view of those who lived through it, however reprehensible may be the movement that seeks to promote emancipation from Rome, it is scarcely likely in the future to do more mischief than Anti-Semitism has done in the past.

The next step in the progress of emancipation from the fetters of this soul-destroying clericalism will be readily understood. It was the most natural thing in the world that this constant interference of the priesthood in the secular sphere should create among the Catholic but anti-clerical Germans a sympathy with the faith of the Protestant Prussians, who were envied for their immunity from clerical tutelage. An old saying among the Germans, "To be German is to be Lutheran," was revived, with a new and deeper significance attached to it. Matters had now come to such a pass among the German speaking population of Austria, that the taking of the final plunge, which would for ever separate them from the Church of Rome, was but a matter of days. While they hesitated, events, which had been rapidly hastening to a climax in other phases of Austrian national life, precipitated the crisis. These events were the issue of controversies in which German nationalism, as represented by the Pan-German party of Austrian politics, had filled for many years a strenuous part. This Pan-Germanism has for long been recognised as the stormy petrel of Austrian Politics; it has broken up old associations and party ties; and the achievement of its ultimate objects would involve nothing less than the disintegration of the Empire itself. It was now to throw itself into the religious conflicts with its accustomed impetuosity. It attached

itself without reserve to the rising movement against Clericalism. In any case Rome was bound sooner or later to come athwart its path; and with the audacity and decision which was characteristic of them, the German nationalists set themselves to destroy this obstacle.

As Pan-Germanism has been so intimately associated with the *Los von Rom* movement for good or ill, both in the origin and subsequent developments of the movement, it merits extended consideration at this point. It is essential, however, always to bear in mind that although the action of Pan-Germanism has been a determining factor in the creation of the present movement, by no stretch of reasoning can it be said in any way to account for it. Entirely different causes had long been in operation, some of which I have mentioned and others I have yet to detail. The merit—if such it be—of Pan-Germanism is, that it appeared at the psychological moment to give the necessary driving power to the extending discontent with the Church of Rome, providing it with a temporary habitation and a name.

VI.

PAN-GERMANISM; THE GERMAN NATIONAL INFLUENCES IN THE MOVEMENT.

IN order to obtain first-hand information about the aims and policy of the *All-deutsche* or Pan-German party, I sought out some of their leaders and got them to tell me their own story. Two of them, members of the Austrian Parliament, I saw in their homes in Vienna, and I had most interesting conversations with them. They were quite frank and free in the expression of their views. The essential characteristics of their ideals is revealed even in their domestic decorations. In one room I counted one bronze statue and five portraits of Prince Bismarck. This devotion to the great German Chancellor gives the clue to their policy; they stand for the ideals of German life and polity of which Bismarck was the living embodiment. "Back to Bismarck" might well be their watchword.

The goal of their desires is the political unity of the German-speaking race. They say that the whole of the Germans of the Continent must be united in a single State. Beyond the frontiers of the German Empire there are altogether 21 million Germans—2 millions in Switzerland, 1 million in Russia, 8 millions in Belgium and Holland, and 10 millions in Austria. The problem, then, which racks many a patriotic German brain is how to establish a complete identity between

the linguistic boundaries and the political territory. The German Empire is not Germany. The poet Arndt declared that "every spot of earth where the German tongue is heard is Germany."

The historic faculty is very highly developed in every German. He is the most retrospective of men. As an instance, one cannot speak long with an Austrian-German without perceiving how fondly he hugs the memory of the old Holy Roman Empire—that mighty German nation which of old extended from the Baltic to the Adriatic. This recollection envelopes him, oppresses him, and suffices to make him conscious of his great historical rights; and for the German the historic right is the most absolute of all rights. The reattachment of the German Provinces of Austria to the German Empire must therefore be the next step in the progress of German unity. "The rod of Empire over the German race," said one of the leaders to me, "has passed from the hands of the Hapsburgs to the Hohenzollerns." The failure of the Hapsburgs to Germanise the Slav nationalities of Austria—whose progress is a veritable rock of offence to the Germans—has convinced them that the Hapsburg dynasty is sick unto death.

The organisation of this movement is the work of the "*Alldeutscher Verband*," or Pan-Germanic Union, which has its ramifications throughout Germany, and has branches in Austria. It has its leaders, its newspapers, its flag, and unless many signs fail, it possesses the sympathy and enjoys the support of no less a power than the Kaiser himself. Speaking at Bonn, 24th April, 1902, he plainly hinted at his own feelings in these words, "Why did the old Empire come to

naught? Because the old Empire was not founded on a strong national basis. The universal idea of the old Roman Kingdom did not allow the German nation development in a German national sense. The ideal of the nation is a demarcation outwardly corresponding to the personality of the people and its racial peculiarity."

The reunion of Austria to Germany has long filled the minds of many Germans. It would have been easy work for the great Empire-builder, Bismarck, to have found the necessary ways and means of realising this ideal, had he considered the times and seasons ripe and ready. But in Bismarck's view there was one insuperable barrier—the Roman Catholicism of Austria. Bismarck once wrote, "If Austria were ever to be united to Germany our Catholic party would become too strong, and the warm sympathy for Austria which exists here, particularly in Bavaria, Wurtemberg, the Rhine Provinces, and Hanover, would then become perfectly legitimate and legal. The consequence would be that we Prussians would no longer have an absolute majority in the Reichstag, and that the old saying '*Travail pour le roi de Prusse*' would lose its force."

That the Roman Catholics of Germany should not be averse to union will be obvious. In the German Empire there are $18\frac{1}{2}$ millions of Roman Catholics against 31 million Protestants. Of the 9 million German subjects of Austria only half-a-million are Protestant. On the day that Austria was incorporated with the German Empire there would be 27 million Roman Catholics against $31\frac{1}{2}$ million Protestants. The Roman Catholics would then not only be able to hold their own, but they would dominate the situation, and

form a compact Roman Catholic State in the centre of Europe, and Germany would then become the pillar of strength of the Roman Hierarchy in place of France, which is evidently now looked upon as lost. Then a long and last farewell to the progress of German culture! As Bismarck well perceived, such an achievement would have spelt death to the German nation.

But with the passing of Bismarck a new order prevails in the counsels of the Empire. The policy of Kaiser William II. with regard to Roman Catholicism is in direct opposition, at least in appearance, to that followed by Bismarck. The progress of socialism haunts the Kaiser by day and by night. The Roman Catholic centrum hold the balance of power in the Reichstag. But of more profound importance is the passion of the Kaiser for the *Weltpolitik*—his ambition to see Germany a great world power, with “dominions beyond the seas,” wielding the sceptre of German righteousness and diffusing the beauty and light of German culture among all mankind. Of recent years he has become quite possessed with these dreams, and strong Protestant though he is by nature, he is not unwilling to utilise Rome when necessary to forward his own ambitions. It has therefore been his interest to cultivate the most friendly relationship between Rome and Berlin. And Rome has quite entered into the spirit of her new-found friend. We have accordingly seen of late that the influence of Rome has been put at the service of German commercial expansion in the East and far East. Of course Rome requires a *quid pro quo* for these favours, and recent German legislation shows how successfully she compasses her ends. The Kaiser’s Imperialism explains much that is

otherwise perplexing and doubtful in the career of this most powerful of European monarchs.

The Kaiser's affection for Roman Catholicism will very much follow the developments of the *Los von Rom* movement, the progress of which he is known to have watched with keenest interest from the first.

To the Pan-German party of Austria, however, the religious question was never of paramount importance in their programme. Their veneration of Bismarck certainly tended to modify their enthusiasm for the Roman Catholic faith, and their long acquaintance with ultramontane despotism in Austria had done much to sap their loyalty to the Church. But probably what was of more consequence to them was the action of that Church in throwing the whole weight of its influence on the side of the Slav peoples, whom the Germans choose to look upon as their eternal enemies. The priests have found the lower orders of the Slavs more docile to their teaching, and more tolerant of their pretensions. Moreover the Slavs have been increasing in power and in importance during later years, and Rome observed this. It was thus necessary to insure in the first place the Slavs' fidelity to the Church, and of course Rome could not be expected to place implicit confidence in a German people. Germany had played sad havoc in their Church in the past, and might do so again. The Austrian Germans observed all these things too. The conviction was settling upon them, that the Roman Catholic Church which, owing to its great influence, might easily have helped them to victory, had treacherously attacked them from behind. They were thus driven into the dilemma in which Bismarck found himself. Their plans were doomed to miscarry, for it

was quite apparent that, whatever the idiosyncracies of the German Emperor might be, to the majority of the German nation the idea of a union with Austria, so long as that country remained attached to the Roman Catholic faith, was thoroughly unpalatable; and if Austria became dominated by the Slavs, of course all further discussion of the matter was at an end. Indeed the opinion has been freely expressed that the extent to which Austria is being Slavicised is sufficient to endanger the Triple Alliance.

There seemed only one solution of all the difficulties, namely to break the Roman Catholic power. Probably it was felt that a threat to disrupt the Church would bring the Clericals to their knees, and terrify them into supporting German nationalist rights, and confounding the aspirations of their Slav enemies.

The language ordinance of the Austrian Government of 1897, which made it necessary that all officials in the Czech districts of Bohemia should know the language of the people—a very sensible and just decree one would have thought—incensed the Germans beyond measure. The German party raised a tremendous storm over this matter, their argument—such as it is—being that the State can have only one language, and that the German. It was the agitation on the language ordinance which led to the open breach with Rome.

VII.

THE OPEN BREACH WITH ROME.

IT was in the midst of some great German demonstrations in Vienna in 1897, when the whole attitude of the Clericals towards the Germans was being reviewed, that a German student in the course of an attack on the Church of Rome for the first time used the words *Los von Rom*. He concluded his speech as follows:—"We are only waiting a favourable moment in order to show the people by some striking example how they ought to break the chains of the Roman despotism. They will find one day in the German Protestant Church an education a thousand times more noble, more free and, above all, more national." Another speaker was more decisive. "Now or never, let us venture forth," he said; "let us send this message to Rome at once, 'Where Rome crosses the path of our people, where it checks the living stream of our people, there it lays the axe at its own roots.'"

These appeals shot through the German people like electric sparks. The fact that so many were now prepared to leave the Church of Rome on a moment's notice showed how odious that Church had grown to the minds of those people. Dr. Schönerer, the leader of the Pan-Germans in the Austrian Parliament, was not slow to realise the possibilities of the situation. He published in the "*Unverfälschte Deutsche Worte*," December, 1898,

the organ of the Pan-Germans, the famous manifesto, *Los von Rom*, which became for a time the charter of the new movement. It opened with these words, "It becomes clearer and more vivid every day that in old German Austria, Slavish arrogance and Romish power have united to annihilate Germanism in a German land;" and it closed as follows, "Away with the fetters that bind us to a Church which is the enemy of our nationality. The spirit of the German and not of the Jesuit alone shall rule a German people."

Following upon this manifesto Dr. Schönerer issued an appeal to his followers, stating that "for various reasons it appears desirable that the secession of the first 10,000 converts from the anti-German Catholic Church of Rome, should take place as soon as possible. Consequently the undersigned urgently requests those of his compatriots who intend leaving the Catholic Church, to send a written declaration to that effect, if possible, by the end of March, 1899," and he asked them to allow him to fix the time at which they will announce their intended conversion to some Church, free from the influence of Rome.

The response was instantaneous, and exceeded all expectations; and in this fashion began the movement which the Roman Hierarchy at first affected to laugh out of court, but the true dimensions and far-reaching effects of which we see to-day. It is true that purely evangelical considerations had little part in the opening of the movement, but this is an argument which strikes both ways. These people abandoned their Church and the faith of their fathers, not as the fruits of Protestant proselytising, but as a consequence of their intimate acquaintance with the work of the Roman Hierarchy,

which had filled them with an absolute aversion to the pretensions of the Clerical priesthood for the mastery of the soul, mind, and body of the people. They went forth, not knowing at first whither they went. Of the first 10,000 who left the Romish Church, many remained without any Church connection ; many joined the Old Catholic Communion ; but the instincts of the main body led them to the Lutheran Church, the Church associated with the name of the greatest of all Germans. " Let us," said one of their organs, " unfurl the banner of the German Evangelical faith, that victorious standard which Slavish fear, cowardly arrogance, and a false conception of patriotism have taken down. If we face the ranks of the hesitating and irresolute with the manly intrepidity of Luther and the Reformers, giving expression to the sentiments with which our hearts are filled, we must succeed."

What attitude did the Protestant Churches of Austria adopt towards the movement at this stage? It was at once sympathetic and dignified. The position of Protestant pastors was in many respects embarrassing. On the one hand they could hardly, consistently with their calling, refuse such converts as spontaneously applied for admission to the Protestant Church ; while on the other hand they were keenly alive to the impropriety of directly or indirectly encouraging political proselytism. Indeed there was an evident tendency on the part of many Protestant pastors ostentatiously to discourage the whole movement, on the ground of its being prompted by political and not by religious motives. The High Consistory of the Evangelical Church of Austria assumed a very hostile attitude towards the movement at first, which

gave occasion for much adverse criticism among Protestants; and the Evangelical Association of Vienna passed a resolution that "while nothing was more foreign to the Evangelical clergy than a desire to proselytise, they gladly welcomed all who embraced their faith *on religious grounds*."

As an illustration of the earnest method in which the more influential of the Pan-German Press reviewed the unexpected developments in the situation, I quote the following extract from an article in the "*Rum-burger Zeitung*":—"A religious idea can only be propagated with any hope of success when it is supported by a certain fanaticism, based on an enthusiastic devotion to the doctrines which it teaches. Conversion in circumstances where the dogmas themselves are in reality considered of secondary importance can never count upon the desired success with the masses. Hundreds and even thousands may change their creed, but the general effect upon the religious convictions of the people would remain insignificant. Our political and national struggle has hitherto been conducted in accordance with the principle laid down in the saying of Frederick the Great, 'Let each seek salvation in his own way.' Shall we now add religious rancour to a condition of political strife which is already hard to bear? Yet we must be prepared for this addition if the matter be taken up seriously on the ground of religious conviction. Must we maintain a sectarian feud with those who cannot reconcile their conscience to a change of religion? At this serious juncture we desire to speak plainly. Let whoever holds his faith as a sacred trust, and who sees in Protestantism not merely the powerful German

National Church and the bulwark against the encroachments of Rome but also a spiritual refuge and source of consolation, follow his convictions. But to treat matters of faith from a purely political standpoint must be detrimental either to religion or to politics." This is very different language from the arrogant and intolerant tone too often adopted by the Clerical press.

We have come then to this position, that the political influence of the *Alldeutsche* party on the *Los von Rom* movement is purely a negative influence. On the positive side of the movement it exercised no weight. It does not account in any serious measure for the large accessions to the Lutheran Church and the increasing activity in spiritual and intellectual matters to which reference has been made. According to its own programme, one of their leaders assured me it cannot take part in any positive religious movement. The party are formed into various clubs, and every member must now be *Los von Rom*, but he may be Old Catholic, Protestant, or Confessionlos.

But even among the ranks of the *Alldeutsche* party one can discern a real striving after the principles of pure religion ; it may be a mere groping after the truth, but coming after centuries of life passed in the darkness, it is evidence of a genuine yearning after the true and the pure. The report of a *Los von Rom* festival organised by the *Alldeutsche Luthersippe* in Vienna, in May, 1903, was placed in my hands. There is a very striking article in it, entitled, "German and Christian," in which a serious attempt is made to discuss the real source of Germany's strength, its evangelical Christian religion. The writer referring to the proposed revival of *Wotankultus* as a religion for Germans, which has

the support of many leading thinkers, discusses the question whether Germanism and Christianity are contradictory. He points to the personality of Luther as a living proof that pure Germanism and living Christianity can be found in one perfect harmonious whole. He proceeds, "But if the German people got their intellectual and moral freedom through Luther, they were still wanting in political freedom, and the fact that they were a scattered nation was utilised by Rome for its own ends." He is referring here to the historical fact that Rome was a consistent opponent of German unity, fearing the consequences to herself of such a step. "The work of Luther in giving Germany a religion, was at length carried to a finish by Bismarck in creating the Empire, politically and economically. The moral freedom won by Luther would be thrown away without Bismarck's world German power, and the Bismarckian German Empire without Luther's Protestantism would merely be a vassal state of Rome; therefore Germany is great and free only because she is a Protestant German power. When our old William won his great victory at Sedan, he did not say, 'Look what I have done;' but 'What a wonderful outcome of God's providence.' Holding firmly by this Christianity, the German people will ever be victorious, and prove itself worthy of its guiding stars Luther and Bismarck, Christianity and Germanism." A thoroughly characteristic piece of German writing.

However the political leaders of the movement may propose, the people are now disposing themselves according to the guidance of their own hearts and consciences, and, freed from the thralldom of the priest, they are taking to the right path although perhaps sometimes

they reach it by devious courses. Politics after all cannot absorb the whole life, even of a patriotic German. And so having come again to breathe the fresh free air of Heaven, like Dante's pilgrims on issuing from *Purgatorio*, they are "pure and disposed to mount unto the stars," and their God-given mental and spiritual faculties are brightening and broadening with new vigour and freshened vitality. In many cases they had little or no conception of pure Protestantism, and even what little they possessed was some grotesque caricature received from their Clerical masters. Take this sample from the premier Roman Catholic Journal of Austria, "*Vaterland.*" It is discussing some explanations for the continued stream of secessions from the Church, and says:—"The Catholic priest with long black cassock, and his rigid observance of principle, is unattractive and awe-inspiring. Protestantism is more easy-going. It requires nothing, it commands nothing, and forbids nothing. You may be an *atheist or a nihilist, and yet be a good Protestant!*" Need Rome affect so much surprise when dire retribution is meted out to her at the hands of people who discover, to their shame, that they have allowed themselves so long to be humbugged by such stuff as this!

And so it has come about that thousands are seeking the truth and earnestly pursuing it, and many a German, as Rev. Mr. Cisar puts it, who seceded from Rome for the sake of Schönerer, now adheres to the Evangelical Church for the sake of Christ.

At the same time, while there is nothing more unlovely than an intolerant, selfish nationalism—and the Germans, least of all peoples, cannot be freed from the charge of a too zealous devotion to a false patriot-

ism, with its false ideals and its corruption of simple human kindness and brotherhood—it is useless to ignore the extent to which the passion of national and racial pride has helped to shape the course of human movements in the past, and this factor will continue in all likelihood a dominating influence in human affairs for many years to come. It is a great fact in human nature we have to face, and instead of crushing it in the dust, the wisest statesmanship and the highest Christianity alike prescribe that it be brought to tread the more excellent way—the path of pleasantness and of peace.

In this *Los von Rom* movement the national motive is still to very many a very decisive one. One Protestant minister—a German—who has been in and out among the Austrian Germans for many years, and was in touch with their daily feelings and aspirations, spoke to me of the strength of the national sentiment—a sentiment not unworthily expressed he believed on the whole. He said that the average moderate sober German, who takes his politics and his religion seriously, will be found to argue very much after this fashion. Austria was in former times Lutheran or Protestant; and it was the action of the Dynasty and the Jesuits which brought the people in subjection to the yoke of Rome. With this historical recollection they say, “To be German is to be Lutheran.” Therefore to leave Rome is not a difficult task for this people. Their conscience does not rebuke them when they forsake the Roman Catholic faith. They say, “We go home when we go to the German Church, the Church of Luther. There we sing German Hymns; and we hear German sermons.” The same clergyman assured me that if

this national motive—*i.e.*, the idea which regards the Protestant Church as a German Church—were to be extinguished, or if the Roman Catholic Church would organise itself on a national basis, the destruction of the Roman Catholic power in Austria, which he regarded as an inevitable event of the near future, might for the present be averted.

Chiefly because of the importance attached to it in the Roman Catholic replies, I have discussed this German national element in the movement at this length, and I have endeavoured to set forth both the best and the worst that can be said for it. It is an element that is lessening in importance as the religious feeling deepens in intensity, and I am convinced that the Protestant Churches are fully alive to the dangers and necessities of the occasion.

VIII.

OTHER INFLUENCES AND OTHER MOVEMENTS.

I HAVE referred in Chapter II. to the great spiritual activity which has been manifested in the Protestant Churches of Austria as the direct fruits of the movement. A high tide of revival has swept over the Churches, strengthening convictions, ennobling ideals, revealing new opportunities and responsibilities and visions of extended service in a high and holy calling.

The seceders from Rome found themselves wandering in the wilderness. Their political guides had brought them very much into the position which Clough says Carlyle brought the young men of his generation. "Carlyle led us out of the world of sham into the wilderness and—left us there." The necessities of the seceders were the Churches' opportunities; and the call to expound a pure and simple Evangel to an awakening people compelled the Churches to draw from the very depths of the springs of living water, to their own eternal well-being. The freshened inspiration and widened outlook lifted the Churches out of the rut of commonplace and indifference, in which three centuries of the withering and debilitating atmosphere of Roman Catholicism had compelled them to live. The first fruits of this new life were seen far beyond the circle of the political malcontents with

Rome, in the diffusion of a living faith throughout the length and breadth of the Empire, which led many to believe in the dawning of the day of a second Reformation in Austria. In other words, the movement away from Rome which at first was only a German national one had slowly changed into a religious one. The spirit of inquiry, never wholly dead in Austria, awoke to newness of life, and, what was of greater moment, received courage to express itself. It is difficult to estimate the strength which this stream of influences brought into the main flow of the movement.

I put this question to one or two persons of authority—How far has the *Los von Rom* movement been influenced by a just appreciation of the differences between the distinctive principles of Protestant and Roman Catholic doctrine? One Lutheran clergyman who was in a position of some authority said he did not think the difference of the dogmatic teaching was a very determining factor with many. "We are living," he said, "in a time which is not dogmatical. Therefore we cannot speak about the second Reformation! We have no teaching round which there would gather the new Protestantism, as in the time of Luther, when it gathered itself round the doctrine of 'Justification by Faith.' There is not the same pure enthusiasm for the remission of sins among the new Protestants as existed among the first Reformers." I heard this expression of opinion in one form or another so often in Austria as to give rise sometimes to an uneasy feeling regarding the future. But this danger to Protestantism in Austria is not peculiar to that country, although its proximity to the German theological seminaries, and the extent to which its ministers are recruited from

Rationalism is one of the

Germany, may render it specially susceptible to the newer theology. The trouble is more universal, and is a disturbing element in Protestantism in every part of the world. When Luther challenged the doctrine of the infallibility of the Papacy, which he regarded as an insult to human intelligence and a blasphemy against God, he built his faith upon the glorious and blessed truth, the infallible Word of God. Can it be said with confidence that the Protestant Churches now present so unswerving a case in reply to the claims of Rome? To the average layman who cannot be versed in the finer distinctions of the theological schools, it would seem that an affirmative answer can only be returned with some trepidation.

Professor Masaryk, of Prague University, expressed himself to me very decidedly on this point. He is a Bohemian thinker of great distinction, and his conversion to Protestantism long before the Austrian-Germans dreamed of *Los von Rom*, was a notable event, springing as it did from inward causes unconditioned by politics. I was informed by others, who did not agree with Professor Masaryk on many points, that the views of no other man in Austria were more valuable than his. Here is the summing up he gave me of the great controversy. There is a great religious and ecclesiastical movement all over the Christian world, and the *Los von Rom* is only a part of it. It is natural that the *Los von Rom* movement is so conspicuous. Rome is the bulwark and the centre of religious ecclesiastical conservatism and reactionary spirit. It is, therefore, in the logic of history that liberal views are widespread in Catholic countries, and that serious reform movements are stirring in Catholicism itself, and that many Catholics

join Protestant Churches. But there is an analogous movement going on in all the Protestant Churches. Of course the different nature of Protestantism explains that the Protestant "Away from Rome" movement, so to say, is different. It is a great movement away from "the Church," or ecclesiasticism, and also away from "the Canon."

In a pastoral letter issued by the Archbishop of Vienna, warning Roman Catholics against the *Los von Rom* movement, he says, "There can be no doubt that in spiritual matters the faithful in Austria have arrived at the parting of the ways." If one lesson above any other has been brought home to me in the course of my investigations into this movement, it is that Protestantism has likewise arrived at the parting of the ways. In an Austrian Journal, the *East German Review*, I read a strong *Los von Rom* article, and towards the end of it I came across this significant sentence, "When once the severance from Rome is complete, it will be necessary to insist that the new faith should in turn be closely examined and reformed." Professor Masaryk told me that many a one came to him with this trouble, that they could not remain longer in the Roman Catholic Church, and yet were in doubt as to joining the Protestant Church on account of the unsatisfying nature of Protestant teaching regarding the Bible and other cardinal doctrines of Christian faith. All these things point to one conclusion, that Protestantism must know where it stands if it is to be in the world a strong bulwark against the allurements of Roman Catholicism on the one hand, and the absolute negativeness of rationalism on the other hand.

If dogma and doctrine be not the prime motives of

the people of Austria in seeking the Protestant Churches, what—apart from the political motive—is driving them out of the Church of Rome? I have a long list of replies I got to this question. Is it necessary to go through them all? It is the old familiar catalogue of the vices of Romanism, inseparable from that system wherever it is met with in all its pristine glory and power.

The Austrians are revolting, in the first place, against the essential materialism of the Church's ideals, the subordination of its spiritual function to the creation of a world power in Rome in which St. Peter's shall shine resplendent as the stars among and above the sovereigns of the world. But the words of the lowly Jesus, "My kingdom is not of this world," cannot be always concealed from the members of the Church, and when they find a lodgment in an enlightened heart, the response is one the Church does not quickly forget.

Closely associated with this fatal weakness of Rome is the mechanisation of her religion, her fond affection for the trappings and suits of religious observances, "the mere upholsteries of religion," as Richard Baxter would say, amidst which the inner life of religion can only be kept from extinction by a very miracle. I will never forget the feelings of positive disgust which seized hold of me in a great Romanist Cathedral in Prague, at the sight of the barbaric splendour glittering on pillar and court and penetrating the very recesses of their holiest of holies, fit setting for the theatrical performance which followed. Is this the trick by which the faithful are hypnotised and the prison of their mind and soul made to seem a palace of

delight? I wondered what the Christ, who drove the abusers of His Father's Temple out of the courts of His house with scourgings, would have said and done had He appeared on the scene of this pantomimic mockery of the simple religion He preached to the people of Galilee. One need not be surprised to hear then that people who long for the peace that passeth understanding are asking themselves how it can possibly be found beneath these gorgeous exteriors, and if it is not more likely that in more natural and more human circumstances the Divine radiance will display its beauty.

The other appendages of Rome are likewise being seen in their true colours. The pilgrimages to Rome, whose only object would seem to be to bring grist to the mill of St. Peter's, the eternal adoration of the Virgin Mary, and the constant tales of the appearances of Mary at divers places, and the incredible miracles she is alleged to perform, are but parts of a system of superstition which is turning the Austrian people away from the doors of Rome by the score.

If any observant traveller in these parts of Europe were asked what appeared to him to be the foremost feature of the religion of these peoples, the ready reply would be, the worship of the Virgin Mary. In country or town, on hill or dale, the objects which constantly meet the eye are the shrines, monuments, and images, in wood, in stone, and in wax, dedicated to the Holy Virgin; and they are not mere relics of a rude age, for the lighted candles and wreaths of fresh flowers which abound about the idols, are tributes to the constancy of the faithful devotees, who are to be seen at all hours of the day in varied attitudes of prostration. I stood for some hours one day on the historic bridge over the

Moldau in Prague, which is covered with an innumerable company of Saints, Martyrs, and Virgins, and took note of the measure of obeisance paid by the people to these emblems of veneration. It was invariably from older women, and the more degraded ranks of society, that the greatest tributes of respect came. Any man with any pretension to intelligence seemed to treat these relics with scant courtesy. Carlyle relates that when John Knox, along with some of his compatriots, were galley slaves in the River Loire, some priest one day presented them with an image of the Virgin Mother, requiring that they should do her reverence. "Mother? Mother of God?" said Knox, when the turn came to him. "This is no Mother of God; this is a '*pented bredd*,' a piece of wood I tell you, with paint on it! She is fitter for swimming, I think, than for being worshipped," added Knox, and flung the thing into the river! If the men of Austria treat their *pented bredds* not so roughly or summarily as the heroic Knox, they are none the less ousting them as effectually from their thoughts and their hearts. They are tiring of this religious masquerading, and want a religion, as they used to say, for the heart.

I have already referred to the fact, that among some of those who left Rome for political reasons there has been a serious attempt made to revive *Wotankultus*, or the worship of the old German Mythology. The Romanists hold these men up to scorn and ridicule, and attempt thereby to discredit Protestantism. But after all, is this nonsense not merely the natural development of the playing with religion which goes on daily in Romanist Churches? The Romish services have brought these men to religious bankruptcy; but religious senti-

ment cannot be quite stifled in the heart, and if people do not understand pure Christianity, they may turn to *Wotankultus*.

Among other powerful factors influencing this movement, are what we may call the culture motive, and the moral motive. The people of Austria are beginning to realise that Protestantism represents a higher culture than Roman Catholicism. It is for this reason that many parents join the Protestant Churches, in order that their children may get the benefit of the higher and truer education of the Protestant Schools. The writings of liberal Catholic Theologians, like Professor Kraus and Professor Ehrhard, are typical of the state of mind of thousands of the laity. These men concede sincerely that Roman Catholicism, compared with Protestantism, is inferior, and this "inferiority" is the subject of much keen discussion in even "faithful" circles. As one young man in Prague, who had left the Roman Catholic Church but a year previous, remarked to me, "we feel that in joining the Protestant Church we are taking the path of progress for the inner life."

Unquestionably the people of Austria are coming to recognise that Protestantism stands for a higher morality than Roman Catholicism. Confidence in the fine moral sentiment of the priest has dwindled away. The priest of Rome, with his intolerance, insincerity and malignance, and open disregard of common Christian virtues, is before the eyes of an observing people every day. They are coming to shun the confessional as a very plague spot. In the chequered history of the Roman Church no greater stain lies upon its heart than its powerlessness to effect any control over the abuse of the

confessional. From every country where Rome has sway a cry has gone up to Heaven against the abominations that are allowed to grow up under cover of what should be the most sacred office of a servant of God—the ministering of consolation to a mind diseased and a soul stricken in trespass and sin.

While the movement away from Rome is principally a German movement, the influences of the movement are extending to other parts and other nationalities of the Austrian - Hungarian monarchy. Among the Ruthenians of Galicia, Professor Masaryk informed me that American influence had awakened a *Los von Rom* movement. Some Ruthenians who had emigrated to America came back to their home and organised an Anti-Rome movement.

In the Slovenian race a movement towards conversion to the Greco-Catholic Church has appeared among the Roman Catholic Slavs in that part of the Empire. In the "*Wiener Morgen Zeitung*" I read a letter from Trieste giving some particulars of the movement. The writer says:—"The movement of conversion among the Slav population is on the increase. The inhabitants of Bogliuno, who intimated to the District Governor their conversion *en masse* to the Greco-Catholic Church, have found imitators. Besides Bogliuno, the authorities have received notice of 800 conversions at Rojano, a suburb of Trieste. The number of proselytes is still increasing, and the movement will shortly make fresh converts in the neighbourhood of Trieste and Capo d'Istria." A large provincial newspaper, the "*Agramer Zeitung*," discussing the movement in a leading article, contains the following:—"It is the spirit of Clericalism that seeks to force itself

upon us. It is endeavouring to obtain control over our minds and institutions, as, for example, it has almost entirely succeeded in doing in the neighbouring province of Corinthia, to the sad disadvantage of moral and material progress, a fact which is certified by the Liberal Press and which is patent to every impartial observer. That spirit is a stranger among us. It is an imported poison."

Hungary has always been much more Liberal and more free from the taint of Clericalism than other parts of the Empire. It has four million Protestants against ten million Roman Catholics, and the Protestants increase from year to year. In Bohemia there have been great happenings, but Bohemia occupies a position of such unique importance in the Empire that it requires special treatment.

We see now that the *Los von Rom* movement is a very complicated movement. It is shared by the Germans, by the Bohemians, by the Ruthenians, by the Slovenians and by the Hungarians. And it has the sympathy, open and concealed, of many faithful Roman Catholics, whose views are very fitly expressed in the following passage from the will of the late Professor Kraus, who died in the faith: "Living and dying I see for Christian society no other salvation than a return to religious Catholicism and a break with the worldly, political and pharisaical aspirations of Ultramontanism."

IX.

BOHEMIA.

BOHEMIA is the pearl of the Austria-Hungarian crown; and little known though this land be to the dweller in our isles or the tourist who passes a few pleasant hours at a Bohemian Bath, its life and politics are a constant centre of fascination to the countries of Middle Europe. It is the pivot upon which Austrian domestic politics turn, and have turned for many generations past, and without a knowledge of Bohemia, its history, and its people, the Austrian "situation" will be little appreciated.

It is necessary in the first place to understand this fact, which the Bohemians never tire of reminding you, that though they form part of the Austrian Empire, they are an ancient kingdom with a memorable history. Even if this be accepted, it is very probable that the extent of the information possessed by the average Scotsman or Englishman about Bohemia of to-day is summed up in a sort of an impression that Bohemia occupies a respectable place among the dying nations or effete races. No greater mistake could be imagined. It is true there was a time, following upon the Thirty Years' War which witnessed the extinction of Bohemian independence, when for well nigh 200 years hope had forsaken this people. Under the iron heel of Rome, Bohemia was crushed beyond recognition. The ferocity with which

Rome set about the task of stamping out this rebel nation is not surpassed even in the long black annals of Romish persecution. The three millions of inhabitants were reduced by fire, sword, and exile to 800,000 ; the language was suppressed, and the literature literally burned out. The speech of Ferdinand II., to whom Rome entrusted the duty of bringing back Bohemia to the Roman faith, is still recalled : " I would rather be king over a wilderness with a beggar race, than reign in a rich land full of heretics."

So effectively were these fell designs accomplished that the name of Bohemia, once so renowned, became a by-word in Europe. When Sir John Seeley wrote that " some countries, such as Holland and Sweden, might pardonably regard their history as wound up ; the only practical lesson of their history is a lesson of resignation," he might, without injustice, have applied the remark during these drear days to Bohemia. The conversion of the land of Huss to the Romanist fold was surely thorough enough to satisfy even the insatiable appetite of Rome. In the year 1620 there was only one Roman Catholic for every 39 Protestants in the whole country, *now* there is but one Protestant to be found for 49 Roman Catholics. It is almost a unique example of the forcible conversion of a land mainly Protestant to a land almost entirely Roman Catholic.

It was not until the year 1848, a year which brought life and hope to many struggling peoples, that Bohemia awoke from its sleep of death. The idea of national independence may lose substance ; it cannot be destroyed. The renascence of the Czech race, in national identity and individuality, in language and literature, in music and art, is one of the most out-

standing events of modern European history. To crown the joy of this resurrection, Bohemia has yet to rid herself of the burden of Romish superstition, which has weighed upon her so grievously—and, it must be confessed, which she has borne so meekly all these long years—and return to the faith once delivered unto John Huss and Jerome of Prague.

Nothing in my mission gave me greater satisfaction than the abundant evidences that Bohemia was finding her way again to the old paths. Rome could not reign permanently over this nation. As Professor Masaryk remarked to me, "The Bohemian people, at least every educated Bohemian, is by nature and by his national education against Rome." And you cannot be acquainted with any Bohemian Protestant long without observing with what pride he recounts to you how Bohemia has always been *Los von Rom*. The people received the Gospel at the beginning not from Rome but from two Apostles of the Eastern Church, Cyrillus and Methodius, in the year 862; and Rome has never been able to wring from Bohemia any but a sullen and forced acknowledgment of Papal supremacy.

The present *Los von Rom* movement, which has stirred the Germans of Austria to the depths, has not yet attained to any intensity among the Bohemians. For one thing, there is not yet behind the movement in Bohemia the driving power of a united national sentiment, which we have seen was such a powerful factor among the Germans. Indeed, that same German national sentiment had for a time the most unhappy result of practically paralysing the *Los von Rom* movement among the Czechs. The racial contentings of German and Czech are no mere creation of yester-

day. The Czechs, like all Slavonic races, have always been passionately attached to their own language, habits, and institutions, and for a thousand years have successfully resisted the attempts of the Germans, who almost completely encircle their country, to overwhelm them. The Germans have not perhaps been inclined to be too sympathetic to the national susceptibilities of the Bohemians, to put it no stronger. When such a distinguished German historian as Mommsen can say, as he did on 31st October, 1897, referring to the Ordinance giving the Czech language an equal recognition with the German in Bohemia, "Now these apostles of barbarism (*i.e.*, the Czechs) are at work to bury in the gulf of their unculture, the German labours of half a century," one need not be surprised that the average man loses all sense of reason or charity.

And all this stupid strife is exactly to the liking of Rome. Far from pouring in the oil of peace, Rome utilises every chance to fire up the discords and the hates, happy that she diverts attention from her privileges and power. If this Protestantism can be stigmatised as a German religion, which "*travaillles pour le roi de Prusse*," Rome is content. She does not of course stoop to explain whether the French *Los von Rom* or the Italian likewise "*travaillles pour le roi de Prusse*." But the most unfortunate result is to embarrass the Reformed Church—the Church of the Czech Protestants—and hamper their work.

Through a host of difficulties and trials the Reformed Church of Bohemia—the oldest Presbyterian Church in Europe—has held gallantly on. The following table will give some impression of its progress in recent years and its present strength :—

The Name of the Church.	Country.	1881.			1902.			INCREASE.		
		Parochial Congregations.	Preaching Stations or Filial Congregations.	Number of Souls.	Parochial Congregations.	Preaching Stations or Filial Congregations.	Number of Souls.	Parochial Congregations.	Preaching Stations or Filial Congregations.	Number of Preachers in 1902.
The Reformed Church, }	Bohemia, Moravia,	47	22	68,871	60	50	75,124	13	28	64
		23	...	40,533	24	22	43,003	1	22	30
The Lutheran Church, }	Bohemia, Moravia,	14	...	12,787	15	24	12,835	1	24	15
		11	...	14,935	12	10	19,102	1	10	12
The Free Reformed Church (Congregational), }	Bohemia, Moravia,	...	...	...	13*	38	1,508	13	38	15
	
The Evangelical Brother Church (The Moravian), }	Bohemia, Moravia,	...	...	...	3	10	300	3	10	7
		...	...	...	...	1	...	...	1	...
Totals, .	...	95	22	137,126	127	155	151,872†	32	133	143‡

* The Free Reformed Church has no Parochial Congregations, but only Mission Congregations, most of whom exist only through the aid of the American Mission Board.

† In Bohemia, Moravia and Silesia there is a Czech population of 5,659,037. The number of Bohemian Protestants is thus 2.6 per cent. of the population. At the time of the Reformation the Protestants numbered 99 per cent. of the population.

‡ In addition to these there are working in Bohemia (among Czechs and Germans) eight Colporteurs of the British and Foreign Bible Society and eight Colporteurs of the American Mission Board.

Seeking to account for the comparatively slow progress of the Church, Rev. Mr. Molnar, of Krabschitz, gave me a number of explanations. In many parts of Bohemia there are entire districts without any Protestant congregation, although the Church is now trying to cover the land with such a network of preaching stations that no family shall be left uncared for. But this taxes the strength of the Church to the very uttermost. Then constant emigration of Czech Protestants to America, Russia, Croatia and Slavonia are draining the Church. Mr. Molnar said that he knew of ninety-seven congregations where emigration to America is regularly organised, and in Russia there were at the present day ten congregations with about 6000 souls. In view of all these drawbacks Mr. Molnar, I was glad to hear, looked upon the small increase in the membership of the Church in the period 1881-1902 as a noteworthy proof of her vital power.

But many events have occurred of late which indicate that the Czech conscience is awakening.

The growing interest and enthusiasm in the annual Huss celebrations is perhaps the most remarkable sign of the times.

The Rev. Mr. Dusek informed me that a Huss celebration was organised by the Czech Evangelical Society twenty-three years ago in Prague, and took the form of a lecture on Huss and the Bohemian Reformation. It was attended by sixty persons. On 1st July, 1903, Huss Anniversary day, over 3000 people assembled in the largest hall of Prague to hear an address from the Rev. Ferdinand Cisar; and throughout the country at least three hundred lectures were delivered on the life and work of the great Bohemian reformer and

statesman. Mr. Dusek said that he himself went last year to two of the most Clerical districts in Bohemia, Konigrattz and Chrudin. In the former place he lectured in the theatre to a crowded audience, and in Chrudin he spoke in a gymnasium which was packed to the door with an audience mostly of the working class. The greater part of all these audiences, it must be remembered too, are Roman Catholics. Twenty-three years ago such things would have been absolutely impossible, and they evidence the existence of a great hunger and thirst after truth and reality on the part of a people long dulled and deadened with the theatrical display which forms the stock-in-trade of the religion of Rome.

Of course the Roman Hierarchy have taken due note of these manifestations of interest in the memory of John Huss, a memory they would well see sunk in oblivion, and they fear the terrible consequences of a rude and quick awakening of the Czech people. It is hardly likely that Rome will be able this time to carry out the sorry trick on the Bohemian people they attempted 150 years ago. Taking advantage of the Bohemian's attachment to his nationality and his national heroes, and fearing the revival of the memory of Huss, the Church adopted the expedient of carving on the statue of St. John of Nepomuk, a great Roman Catholic saint of Bohemia, features resembling those of the Bohemian Reformer, so as to lead the ignorant to transfer their allegiance insensibly from Huss to the Romish saint!

When I was in Bohemia, the principal topic of discussion was the action to be taken by the Protestants in consequence of certain proceedings at the last Huss celebrations.

The Bohemian nationalists had proposed a great

memorial to Huss in the *Grosser Ring* of Prague. The Romanists feared to oppose this idea but succeeded in capturing the political party who were erecting this monument, and bent them to serve the ends of Clericalism. These two parties then united in proclaiming that the monument was a national memorial in honour of a great national hero; and the religious significance of Huss' life was carefully suppressed. At the ceremony of laying the foundation stone, indeed, one would have imagined from some of the speeches that Huss was never but a devoted and obedient son of Rome.

This grotesque caricature of John Huss roused all true Bohemians to indignant protests, and these protests were not confined to Protestants. Every Student's Society in the Prague University, most of whom are Roman Catholics, were as strong in denouncing this indignity on the memory of Huss as the Protestants. The Young Czech politicians next strove to wipe out this manifestation of feeling by denouncing the Protestant party as national enemies and supporters of a German religion upheld by German gold. This controversy compelled the Protestants of Bohemia to come out, and once and for all define their position. This they did in a great demonstration held at Prague on 28th September, 1903, at which over 2000 representatives of most of the congregations of Bohemia and Moravia were present. Eloquent addresses were delivered chiefly by laymen, and a series of Resolutions, which had been prepared by a representative committee, were adopted by the convention. As these resolutions state the whole case for the Czech Protestants very comprehensively and with great clearness and dignity, I give a translation of them *in extenso* :—

I.—*The Position of Czech Protestants to the Nation and Political Parties.*

The Bohemian Protestants, proud of their inheritance from the glorious past of their nation, and recognising that they are the living connecting link between that past and the present, emphatically declare that they cling with all their heart to their own nation. This sentiment is so deeply rooted in the very soul and fibre of a Bohemian Protestant, that it is impossible for him to become a traitor to his own people. To act in that way would be to cut off all the ties which bind him to his nation's historical traditions and become unfaithful to his evangelical principles. The Protestants of Bohemia have never ceased, in all their chequered history, to make their country happy and contented, and have done more for the enfranchisement and education of their people than any others of their compatriots.

Being conscious of their own special call in the nation to render unto it their highest service, they desire to remain sincere, true Protestants, for they believe that by steadfastness to the Gospel, the most gracious blessing of Heaven, they will contribute most to the nation's well-being and happier future. They will therefore assiduously strive to let the light of the Gospel shine through themselves and, God willing, to rouse and enlighten the conscience of their nation.

The Protestants will form no political party of their own, leaving everyone at liberty to act upon his own political convictions. To attempt to compel anyone into any particular party would be contrary to the fundamental Evangelical principle—liberty of conscience—which they will resolutely defend against all who stamp as traitors those who differ from them in political convictions. But Protestants can only give their support to those political parties which take their politics seriously, who respect the truth, act honestly, and remain true to their religious convictions. They will support every good cause and project, but they will strenuously fight against dishonesty, falsehood, duplicity, reaction, and clericalism in whatever party these be found.

II.—*Relations with Foreign Nations.*

The Protestants will continue to cultivate those friendly relations with their co-religionists in other lands, which their ancient

fathers so happily inaugurated. It strengthens their evangelical consciousness and unity to feel that they are part of a great Evangelical brotherhood, whose sympathy they may have, and they also believe that they contribute to Evangelical Catholicity by bringing to it Bohemian Protestantism. Being a small Church, they require much help, and by accepting it they do not forfeit their own individuality.

But they cultivate these foreign relations also in the interests of their own nation. The progress of a small nation is impeded by separation and aloofness from the rest of the world; a nation can develop chiefly by exchange and contact with the civilising achievements of other nations. Outside of the Protestants there is almost nobody among the Bohemians who cultivate any relations with the most advanced non-Slavic nations; the only exception being the intercourse between a section of the Bohemian people and the French Nationalists and Clericals, which only harms the nation. Especially would the Protestants cultivate the most friendly relations with their nearest neighbours, the Germans being convinced that the safety of their nationality does not depend upon national hostility and hate, but upon peaceful co-operation. By personal intercourse, by information conveyed by word or letter, the Protestants of Bohemia will strive to cleanse the name of Bohemia in the world from the calumny of intolerance, reactionary tendencies, clericalism and inferiority, and will endeavour to awake the sympathy of all nations for the Bohemian nation. By this way they are raising the intellectual and moral level at least of their own evangelical part of the nation, and so strengthening the nation for its work. All these things are necessary, and the Protestants will allow nobody to interfere with them in this work; on the contrary they mean to carry it on to the furthest extent.

III.—*Position towards the "LOS VON ROM" Movement.*

The Bohemian Protestants are the living *Los von Rom* spirit of the Bohemian nation. The Bohemian Reformation and the Edicts of Toleration are phases of this movement in the Nation's History, and they cannot but gladly hail any such movement wherever it takes place. They understand by it two impelling

motives; in the first place an aversion from empty formalism, from clericalism, from Romanism and everything appertaining to it; secondly, the longing for a religion in the truth and in the spirit, for greater moral sincerity and conscientiousness, for an intellectual and cultured progress, in short for a realisation of the Gospel. This last is to them the chief thing of all.

They are convinced that the influence of Rome does but lead the nations into bondage, stagnation and torpor. Any nation wishing to attain to liberty and vital strength must of necessity shake off the yoke of Rome and draw upon the well of the Gospel for its vigour and life.

They therefore hail this movement among the Germans. They cannot regard it as a movement which is principally traitorous and anti-Austrian; and though the Germans may gain by it in moral and intellectual advantages against the Bohemian nation, they hope that their freedom from Rome and their submission to the Gospel will emancipate them from national passions and animosities.

But they also believe that their own nation, dissatisfied with the present moral and religious condition into which it was forced by the cruelties of the anti-Reformation, will awake to a new religious life and break the fetters with which it is bound. But a merely negative and superficial opposition to Rome is not sufficient. This would probably still leave Rome in possession of the souls of the people. While out of the Romish Church, the people would cling to the Romish forms and they would worship Rome as much as ever. It is in this religious insincerity that the Protestants discern the cause of the moral sickness and the source of the weakness of character of their nation. It is certainly necessary to get rid of the Roman leaven altogether; but that even would not suffice, if it were only the stepping stone to religious nihilism. What is absolutely necessary is that the nation should return to the Gospel, out of which their fathers gained their religious, moral and intellectual powers.

Such a movement cannot be effected through artificial means. The heart of the nation is in the hands of God. The Protestants can but pray for a deeply religious revival, do their duty towards their nation, and seek to realise the Gospel in their own lives.

These Resolutions are convincing evidence that the Bohemian Protestants are thoroughly alive to the trend of the times, and are setting about the work of reformation in the right way, and in the true spirit of faith and courage.

The national walls of Chauvinism are breaking down. The best of Bohemia is beginning to recognise the foolishness of national antipathies, and to acknowledge the indebtedness of their country to Germany for the stream of liberal tendencies and wider outlook which has made the *Los von Rom* movement possible. The Germans are recalling Luther's well-known tribute of respect to the Bohemian people, for their invaluable contribution to religious progress and freedom in the darkest days, and the words of Huss to the Bohemians, that a "good German was more to him than a bad brother," are sinking into the minds of the Bohemians. But the most hopeful sign which I witnessed was the drawing together of the Lutheran and Reformed Churches, and their uniting to fight the common enemy. On 1st September, 1903, at Lintz, an Austrian Ministers' Association was formed, which embraced all Evangelical ministers within the monarchy, without respect to nation and confession—Lutheran and Reformed, German and Czech. I was present at this meeting, and can speak of the heartiness and enthusiasm which characterised the proceedings.

Since I left, an organisation has been formed in Bohemia, called the "Union of Constance," whose special object it will be to protect the interests of Protestants, to teach and spread the principles of the Reformation, a propaganda as Mr. Dusek informs me "by word and letter, by press and address." It will be

the instrument by which the International Committee for the furtherance of the Gospel in Austria will work in Bohemia. These organisations all need the most generous help that can be given to them, and Scotland should surely not be behind with her means and substance in assisting these people in their hard struggles.

The formation of the party of the Realists—the only party in Bohemia that is thorough—led by Professor Masaryk and Dr. Herben, the Editor of "*Čas*," the only organ of the Protestants in the Bohemian Press, will powerfully assist in cleansing the national life and politics. Both these men are converts from Romanism, from the deepest of convictions.

Within the Roman Catholic Church itself, all is not well. Rev. Mr. Dusek assured me that there were at least 200 young priests who would come out tomorrow if they knew where to go, and what to do. Such a state of things is an indication of the gravest discontent and dissatisfaction, and among the laity matters are no better. The people are drifting from Rome every day. One Sabbath forenoon in Prague I attended the services in St. Clement's Reformed Church, of which Rev. Mr. Soucek is pastor. Of course, being in the Czech language, I could not follow the services; but I was interested in observing numbers of men and women passing in to the crowded church, who crossed themselves at the door in the mechanical fashion of the devotees of Rome. On mentioning this to Mr. Soucek in his study afterwards, he said that his services were very much frequented by Roman Catholics, who were either seeking to know the truths of Protestant teaching, or, having given up their belief in Rome, were still unable to bring themselves to the point of definite

separation, fearing the persecution this would mean to them. Mr. Soucek said he had great sympathy with the position of these people, but did not deem it wise to force their pace, and would rather let the leaven of the pure Gospel work its own sure course. At the time we were speaking, a lady called to see Mr. Soucek, and after he had spoken with her, he told me that she was just one of the class referred to. She was a Roman Catholic who had attended his services for over a year, and was now desirous of throwing in her lot with the Evangelical Church. And so the good work goes on from day to day—always *Los von Rom*.

The nation in short is just finding its feet, and scarcely knows how to walk after the long tutelage under Rome. When the day of light at last dawns on this people, the consequences may be felt far beyond the frontiers of Bohemia. They are the most advanced and most enlightened of all the Slavonic race, and the lead they give may bring forth the whole of this great race out of the house of bondage.

I shall not readily forget the impression made upon me by Mr. Yung, one of the editors of "*Cas*," a convert from Rome, as he stood with me on the hill overlooking the beautiful capital of Bohemia, and pointing to the great plain of Bohemia which stretched away before us, said with intense earnestness, "Do you see that fair land, the scene of a thousand fights between Romanism and Protestantism? Believe me, that great conflict will be renewed soon, but this time not with the sword and the battle axe, but with the weapons of the Spirit and the Truth." Nowhere will the issue of such a struggle be awaited with greater sympathy and interest than in Scotland, which has always had a warm heart for the land of John Huss.

X.

A PROPOSAL FOR A ROMAN CATHOLIC UNIVERSITY IN AUSTRIA, AND WHAT CAME OF IT.

AT intervals of more or less frequency one hears of suggestions and proposals to establish a State endowed University in Ireland under the administration and control of the Roman Catholic Church. Although the people of Great Britain have given anything but an attentive hearing to these proposals, it is not likely that we have heard the last of them, as they are known to be viewed with extreme favour in exalted circles, and they have received the open advocacy of prominent British Statesmen, notably the present Prime Minister, Mr. A. J. Balfour. It will therefore not be altogether without interest to know the particulars of a similar scheme projected by the Roman Catholic Church in Austria three years ago, and to learn the fate it met with. It at the same time affords another illustration of that aggressive Clericalism which has been such an irritating factor in Austrian life, to which reference has already been made.

In Austria, as in all civilised lands, the Roman Catholic Church is still very far from the realisation of the fondest desire of its heart—the capture of the higher education of the young manhood of the country. That is a consummation towards which the most

strenuous energies of the Church have been concentrated for many years. The Church has hitherto found the Government of Austria intractable on this subject, and despairing of any immediate hopes of success in this quarter, the Clerical authorities decided to appeal to their faithful people for the necessary support to carry out their scheme. It was a matter of little or no importance to them that Austria was already very adequately equipped with magnificent Universities in which men of every class and creed meet and learn of each other to their own eternal welfare, and the truest interests of pure religion. The establishment of a Roman Catholic University, from an educational point of view, was absolutely without any justification. But in the clerical interests such a University would be a very mountain of strength. It was proposed to build the University at Salzburg, and the immediate consequence would be to attract large numbers of students from the Alpine Provinces, the Catholic Students' Societies and feudal circles. These elements would eventually be provided with posts in the administration and the magistracy. A host of professors for the high schools would be supplied from the University, and their pupils would necessarily reinforce the clerical ranks. When the real inwardness of the scheme was realised it was felt by the best subjects of Austria that such a state of things would bring on Austria's last hour.

A Vienna professor let me see the various documents round which the controversy raged. The Manifesto of the Roman Catholic Episcopate, which received the cordial benediction of Pope Leo XIII., was characterised by the purest Ultramontane spirit. It stated that

when Universities were first founded by the Popes the object was to promote the Catholic faith and Catholic science. They were always under the influence of the Church, and it was obligatory for the professors to be Catholic. But all that has changed. The existing state of affairs was then described, and it was promised that particulars should be given later on as to the proposed organisation. In a general way, however, the manifesto states that high schools, inaugurated by the Pope and the bishops, should remain under their management. They were to decide how the professors were to be appointed; they were to supervise the "purity" of the instruction, and take care that there was nothing contrary to the Catholic truth. The manifesto stated that £50,000 had been already collected for the purpose, and that the further means required are to be obtained by new collections.

The publication of the Clerical manifesto was immediately followed by protests from all classes of society. The most damaging objections came from the professors of the other universities, who denounced the plan as one that was on various grounds inconsistent with the propagation of knowledge, the progress of science, and the general interests of the State. The individual opinions of some of the most distinguished professors in the Austrian universities constitute overwhelming evidence of the danger to society and the State involved in the creation of a university under clerical control, and are worthy of reproduction here.

According to Professor von Frisch the orthodox Roman Catholic faith would seem only calculated

to have a confusing and restraining influence on a profession which, like that of medicine, is called upon to benefit all men, irrespective of religious differences, and which can only fulfil its high calling on purely human grounds. Professor Frederick Jool considers that when the results of scientific research are not dictated by the intrinsic logic of the case, but by outside authority, and when scientific instruction is not under the supervision of the great republic of *savants* but of the ecclesiastical authorities, they are condemned to sterility. All our hopes of culture are founded on the conviction that in the State not only the various forms of religious faith, but also believer and unbeliever, religion and free thought, can exist together under the common banner of science and humanity. Aulic Counsellor Professor Mach says that the proposed Catholic university cannot play a part as a private institution under the present laws. He is of opinion that all sensible men must oppose by every means in their power the repeal or modification of the right of control which the State now possesses over the universities. Professor Mirbach, of Innsbruck, says that the large majority of professors at Innsbruck University emphatically agree that they cannot attribute the character of genuine science to instruction and research that are crippled by ecclesiastical considerations.

Aulic Counsellor Professor Menger holds that the conflicting tendencies between religious indifference and clerical conservatism would be aggravated to an extraordinary extent by the foundation of a Catholic University, and a new element of disintegration would be introduced into the nation. Professor Menger contests

the soundness of the opinion prevailing among the opponents of free research, that young men lose their religious convictions at the Universities. In our times there are so many different and uncontrollable influences which work upon the religious and political views of students that the Universities themselves, which leave the religion and conscience of individuals to themselves and the Church, claim no credit for their religious feeling and are in no way responsible for it. Whatever might be the character of a Catholic University, it would not be a school of free research and free education.

Aulic Counsellor Professor Nothnagel points out that Universities have two tasks to accomplish—namely, to provide education for distinct professions and to promote science and knowledge. Science in itself is neither good nor wicked, and by itself it does neither good nor evil. The highest moral law of Buddhism and Judaism, as of Christianity—love thy neighbour as thyself—is consistent with every juridical, philological, historical, technical, natural, philosophical, and medical research and knowledge. Consequently the Universities do not require to have a religious character in order to fulfil their object. Of course if Universities were merely intended to impart instruction in the technicalities of the various branches of knowledge they might, without inconvenience, have a religious character. They would then, however, be nothing more than intellectual drill institutions, a Pegasus harnessed to the plough. They would then form mere machines, but would not teach how to think nor how to cultivate research.

Aulic Counsellor Professor von Philippovich explains why he looks upon it as out of the question that any-

body who has at heart the maintenance of the traditions of the Austrian Universities, even if he belongs to the Clerical party in politics, can be in favour of the foundation of a Catholic University like that which has been proposed. He has no doubt whatever that if a serious experiment of the kind were to be made, it would provoke an excitement among the professors and students of the Universities which would cause the greatest prejudice to the peaceful administration of those establishments, their improvement and development. Professor Schipper, Rector of the Vienna University, refers to utopian schemes, which in the twentieth century seek to restrict science to limits they define once for all, and which would for ever separate such an institution from those sublime educational establishments, "which we are accustomed to designate with pride as German Universities."

The storm of protest which was raised against the proposals compelled the Hierarchy to abandon their project. That such a protest should have been made, and made so successfully in the largest ecclesiastical state in the world which the Pope can call his own, is most ominous for Rome. And the short shrift given to the proposals in Roman Catholic Austria is one reason more why Protestant Great Britain should turn a deaf ear to any claim, however eloquently pleaded, for re-establishment and re-endowment of a system which is being cast out of other countries.

CONCLUSIONS.

IT is hard, even for a native of Austria, to form a definite opinion as to the prospects of any movement in that country. The general view, which I gathered regarding the prospects of the *Los von Rom* movement, was that while it might make less noise in the immediate future it would go on with sure and steady pace. The figures of conversion for the first half of 1903 certainly indicate no slackening of popular interest. But from the political point of view, the first blush of novelty in the new movement has worn off; and the religious movement, cleansed from the trail of politics, will have full opportunity of making its influence the dominating factor in the situation.

The prospects of the Clerical party were the subject of an interesting article in the *Spectator* about a year ago, and the views then expressed fairly represent, I believe, the position of affairs at this moment. "The Clericals consider their prospects bright," says the *Spectator*; "there has been for many years a steady reaction among the upper classes, which is also visible in France, towards what are called 'faithful' ideas, that is, towards implicit obedience, not only to Rome, but to its great Agents in the country itself. This has gone so far that Tory Austria, and Austria is full of Tories, is almost invariably Clerical, and the immense conser-

vative forces of the Empire may be considered at least passively Ultramontane. To complete their gratification they now feel secure of the future, the heir of the Monarchy having proclaimed himself a militant Churchman, an attitude in which he is encouraged by his wife, who places herself at the head of the new party of 'Crusaders,' and probably hopes, if the Ultramontanes win, to be absolved from the oath of renunciation and be recognised as Empress Queen of Austria-Hungary. The great struggle will be when the Emperor Francis Joseph dies and all sections cease to feel the moderating influence of his unquestioning authority." How strong that moderating influence is, and how anxious the old Emperor is to see justice and toleration prevail throughout the Empire, was brought to my notice in this little incident. At the annual meetings of the Gustavus Adolphus Society in Lintz, which I attended, a telegram was received from the Emperor conveying his good wishes and heartiest compliments to the Society. This was the first time the Society had received such Royal recognition.

It is quite true what the *Spectator* says about the attitude of the upper classes in Austria. Few of them have identified themselves with Protestantism. Indeed, the most strenuous opposition to all the efforts of liberal Catholics to bring their Church abreast of modern ideas comes from this section of Catholic society. The leading Catholic paper, *Vaterland*, voiced the feelings of a vast multitude of the "faithful," when it said, "We will be for Rome from top to toe; we will be for Rome into the very marrow of our bones. *Roma eterna!*"

One thing, however, is sure above all others, and

that is that Austria cannot go back now. She has broken the fetters, once and for all, which have kept her heart and soul in bondage. Her face is set towards the light, and she must go forward. She will know the truth, and the truth will make her free.

The present period of comparative quiet is being effectively used by the Protestant Churches to deepen religious conviction, to educate the people in Evangelical truth, and to establish the foundations of Protestantism more deeply in the Evangelical Faith. It is, perhaps, well that the first vehemence of the movement is over. It is doubtful if genuine progress is ever made by a violent Reformation. Is it not more likely that progress will be more permanent if it is the outcome of slow educational development? Much of the stagnation which followed the first outbursts of the Reformation in Germany and elsewhere may be due to the extent to which the violence of the Reformation had prevented reason and knowledge keeping pace among the people with the new religious ideals.

Now, the most hopeful feature of Austria is that Austria has begun to think, and Rome has no greater foe to fear than a man who thinks. Shakespeare tells how Julius Cæsar, in the zenith of his power and tyranny, trembled whenever he saw Cassius. "He thinks too much; such men are dangerous," was Cæsar's terrified comment on Cassius. And this colossal, spiritual and political Caesarism, the Roman Catholic Hierarchy, which would have all mankind in perpetual chains and slavery, shivers when it sees a people which has begun to think.

But we in Great Britain have our obligations to Austria. I do not speak merely of our duty in giving

material assistance to our Protestant brethren in Austria. And while on this point let me plead for the old Reformed Church of Bohemia. A more devoted band of Christian brethren I have never seen, and they are worthy of all the generosity we can bestow on them. But I speak here of our duty to stand fast in the faith wherewith we have grown strong and free. Nothing in my visit to Austria more impressed me than the surprising interest shown in recent indications of the progress of Romanism in our country. Here is an extract from an article in an Austrian newspaper, *Pester Lloyd*: "The conflict which has broken out in consequence of the anarchy prevailing in the Anglican Church, must exercise a more or less decisive influence on the future of mankind in Europe. The triumph of Clerical views in free England would assuredly lead to an immense increase of Ultramontaniam on the Continent." Many good people are disposed to believe that the Roman Catholic peril is past and done with for ever. It may be that the Protestantising of Roman Catholicism, which goes on from day to day, in free and tolerant countries like our own, blinds us to the reality of Romanist progress. But it is, nevertheless, the simple truth that the greatest service we can render to our native land, and to the interests of Evangelical Protestantism the wide world over, which is the cause of civilisation itself, is to resist every attempt of this worldly aggressive institution, the Papal Church, to fasten itself again around the neck of our people.

GTU Library

3 2400 00392 8086

[illegible]

